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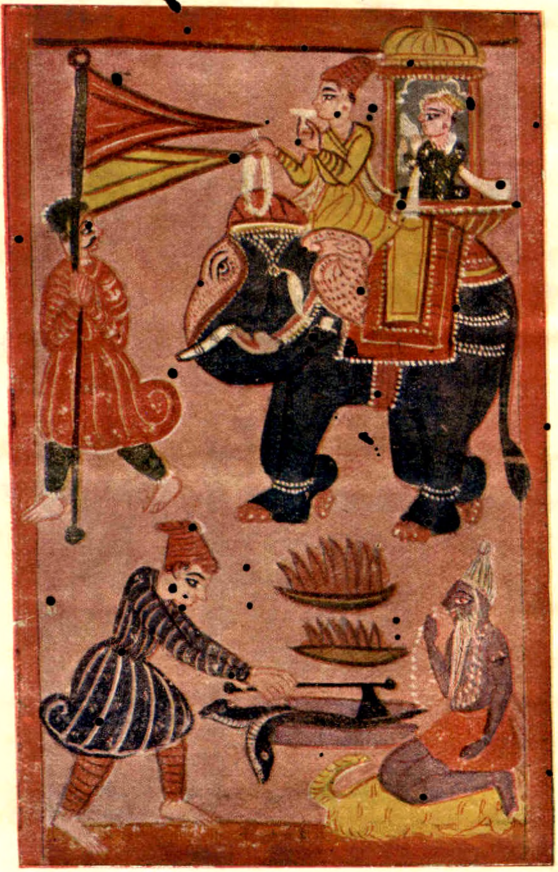

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1928

KINDRED SAYINGS ON BUDDHISM

IV

WAYFARING AND THE COMING-TO-BE

Does the title recall to anyone his youthful wayfarings? Such are present to me now. Child of English country life, to me the annual summer journey 'abroad' was a great event, great not least in this, that the return meant chiefly two things: altered perspectives and the sense of something different in *me* when studies were resumed. The home looked smaller, and so did much else. Music—it was my chief study—was grasped and interpreted in a somewhat bigger, wiser way, even if fingers and voice were 'out of practice.' The wayfaring had been a coming up against the New more impressively, more concentratedly than this was effected by life at home. It had been a forcing-process for the young 'puruṣa' that was I. In response I had grown, I had become, I had come to be.

Others may have seen no change after those few or more weeks. But there are no two opinions about the change wrought in the traveller by greater, longer wayfarings. The woman, the man who returns is clearly not the same, especially when the journey has not been a mere drifting, but a purposeful matter of research, or even of pioneering. The change is not only in body

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or mind. These it may be need repose; these may have grown in hardihood, in resourcefulness. It is the very man that is different, different in his outlook, his values, his self-expression. He has been in the world of the new. He has become more sensitive to what at home is not new, is even mouldy. He has widened and deepened his knowledge of the man-in-man, for whereas he has seen him under other conditions, in other bodily vehicles, amid other traditions, he has found under these the man, the fellow-man. He has found him as more worthy, more worthless. He has found him adapting those different conditions to life as he wills it to be. (Too often we word it the other way, speaking as if man adapted himself only, and were the mere creature of the conditions. But this is a wrong estimate, even of primitive village life.) And he returns with some impatience for the standpoints of the untravelled: the standpoint of the one language only, the one code of this or that, the ignorance of the unwonted, the dislike of the new, the narrower values. He has seen and has come to worth the man in the wider way of living. His wayfaring has made him a more-man. Possibly not altogether a more worthy man, but in either case, better man or worse, he has changed not only in body or mind, he mandates himself differently now, he has 'become,' he has come-to-be.

That man's life is a wayfaring—a Marga—is one of the greatest figures of human speech because it is so close to world-truth. Even were there no greater way of the worlds, wherein the man-in-man, the *puruṣa*, is literally a wayfarer, the figure would still be most apt. For the way implies choice of better or worse; wayfaring brings growing fitness in wayfarer; wayfaring brings the New, brings the further view, and heads for a Goal. To the superficial reader the figure of the Way (*marga*) may seem to stress but little the individual wayman, and to call up mainly the many. It would not be a figure of world-truth, if it were not of all. But it is curious how empty of comment on its significance for the individual is the literature of and on

Buddhism. I am not saying that man's growth towards saintship as a way, or that man's conquest over birth and death as stages in a *magga* are not prominent teachings. But I do say, that the doctrine of man as wayfarer in a way, taught *as a figure*, full of suggestion and picturesqueness, full of meaning and attraction for the Everyman to whom it was first worded, is lost sight of. And why? Because the Buddhist exponents have not as monks welcomed all that wayfaring means; and because *their* cramped use of the glorious figure has put non-Buddhist commentators off the scent.

Let us go further into this sentence, taking it in backward order. Writers on the Buddhist gospel have seen in its 'Magga' nothing more than one way of teaching among other ways. This, it is true, appears to have been one of the current secondary uses of the word. A good instance is in the Tevijja Suttanta (Dīgha-Nikāya, I, No. XIII). Two young brahmans are disputing whether any of the 'maggāni' (*sic*) taught in their schools is "the straight way, the thither-faring road leading...to companionship with Brahmā"? But the luminous reply ascribed to Gotama shows how, in his message, the 'way' was *so much more* than any course of teaching prescribed by him, or to be associated with his name. The 'magga,' for him, was *man's very life*. And it was this, and this alone that would always be guiding the man to the Highest (whom, never having seen, he could not know), because the man, conceiving the Highest as the Best, would by persistently choosing to live his best, be ever becoming more and more like that Best. Worthy most truly is a word like this to stand beside that of Hosea: "then shall we know if we follow on to know"; and that of John the Elder: "Dearests, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that...we shall be like him...." It is probable that the Way has come to us so congealed in its rather unfortunate Eightfold uniform, and in that other formula of a 'Truth,' that our writers have not seen its true significance. It is when we cut these shackles off by noting where, and how, 'way' and wayfaring survive in the records, when unhampered by them, that something of its original strength and significance stand out.

Notice for instance the allusion in the very venerable Parâyana, last book of the Sutta-Nipāta. Here it is no detail of thought, word, or deed, here is no harping on 'ill'; here it is the forward way and the goal giving their name to the book:

> He who would practise as the Teacher taught,
> 'Tis he may go from hence to the Beyond;
> Yea, hence to the Beyond 'tis he may go
> Making the WAY-incomparable to become;
> The way this is for going to Beyond,
> And therefore is it Yonder-faring[1] called.

Nor in this brief sampling let us forget to notice what is generally overlooked: Gotama's name of 'caravan-leader' (*satthavāha*):

> *Uṭṭhehi...satthavāha...vicara loke*!
> 'Arise thou leader of the caravan and tour the world!'—

a name for Buddhas which we find again in two anthologies. I do not wish to stress this adjunct of the Way-figure much. The very pith of the parable was that each wayfarer should be himself *satthavāha*, 'bearer of the goods,'[2] the Good within him, and chooser of the Way. I bring it in to show the lingering dying tradition of the Way as once a great symbol of man's life, and not merely the ethical rune as which it is usually presented.

It may be said, why was it not picturesquely presented in the first manifesto, or 'sermon'? That it was so badly stated is to me a more convincing sign that that 'sermon' was a genuine first utterance, than if it had been as picturesquely given as are subsequent talks on roads. It was only when, as a new teacher of the many, Gotama spoke to this man and that of life as a 'way,' full of adventures unknown, unpredictable, appealing to the young, and having a wonderful Beyond, that he would himself come to see what a rich and strong appeal lay in it. I can see nothing unreasonable in the guess, that the swift success of his teaching among the many: the merchant and the land-tiller, the craftsman and beast-tamer, the woman and child, the hunter and bandit, was in part due to the fascinating and stimulating picture of man as wayfarer from the known to the unknown, of how welfare lay in getting further, of how getting further depended upon right wayfaring here and now. There was nothing wholly new in the figure. The way—*yāna* not *marga*—of the Fathers, and that of the Gods was an old Vedic idea. But this of the Magga was more than that; it was a bringing of life as travel, in Bacon's immortal words; "home to men's business and bosoms." And could the vehicle of the teaching have been the layman, could we have had in Ganges valley a little world of John Bunyans, teaching the notion of the 'pilgrim's progress' as the 'way through the jungle,' not so much with a load of sin to be discarded, as with an ever growing force of *attha*—of 'good,' of 'well'—to be carried along, we should not now be seeing the Buddhist dhamma so lamentably misrepresented as a gospel of 'ill,' of world as good for nothing, of not-man, not-becoming, as in its records it came to be, as in its monasticism it has continued to be.

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[1] *Parâyano*, Fausböll's rendering is here feeble.

[2] *Sa-attha-vāha.*

Buddhist monks have been, and I believe are yet, pious pilgrims. The sadder it is and the stranger, to see how in the past they failed to worth the figure and the truth of the greater pilgrimage. But the lure of the roadway and even of the seaway still calls to man, even though, in his ostensible aim as pilgrim, he shows that he has missed the true call of his religion. But I fail, I repeat, to find any grasp, in the scriptures, of the Way as a parable of life. I would be frank about this, no matter whether I shall thereby be judged as forcing 'parable' or figure on to a mere term of means or method only. There is one poem in the Piṭaka anthologies solely about the Way and one only: that by one Migajāla, and very eloquent it is. Here and there it shows real insight. In the first place it ignores the eightfold analysis; I mean, the 'limbs' are omitted. It just hints at how *magga* is not merely *samsāra*—and here I seem to have missed the point in translating, and am fain to amend. One of the rich, rolling compounds describing the Way is *sabbavaṭṭavināsano*, translated:

'(through it)
All constant rolling on is razed away...'

This should have struck me as a terribly bad recommendation for a road, and it will have been just the utter atrophy of the Magga as a picture of life, and not as a mere rule of doctrine that made me blind. It should have been:

'All constant rolling *round* is razed away.'

In the monkish doctrine of Ill; *samsāra*, which in Gotama's day meant the flowing *on* of life from world to world came to be conceived as a round, an eddy, *āvaṭṭa, dukkhavaṭṭa,* with no indication of *parakkama*, going forward, *niyyānika*, faring away to. Negatively then Migajāla has got the idea of progress. The Buddhist idea was to get out of *samsāra* into *magga*. The sounder idea would be thus:—"in the life-faring (*samsāra*), choose the *magga*, that is, the *right mode* of faring." But then the world-despairing idea of the monk was to bring life in worlds to an end. Life in worlds as the true, the only way of self-fulfilment, was not accepted.

The poem also speaks of act and cause in the Way, and rightly. The way was conduct, and the way was man in his acts *becoming the cause* of his progress—only Migajāla didn't see it. But he has a noble ending:

Mahākhemamgamo santo pariyosānabhaddako.

'Yea, to the mighty Haven doth it wend,
Holy (the faring), well (for thee) the End.'

And yet, for all that he conveys in his sonorous periods, there is nothing to show the very essence of the Way, nothing to keep the reader *off* from the idea, that here is a road along which mankind, like sheep, are being *shepherded* by Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha to salvation, nothing to show the reader that the Magga means a man's so living, so walking as to be and do his best, *as himself the* 'sattavāha.' But it is this, *and nothing but this* that makes of that famous Way-sermon, not a mere line of doctrine, not a mere code of good thought, word and deed, but a very religion, an inspired call to man from That who is both Source and End.

Nor is there anything in the verses to show an awareness that wayfaring in the 'Path' meant in the wayfarer a continual progress, becoming, growth. Words were not lacking here. There is praise elsewhere for the woman if she show 'Ariyan growth' (*vaddhi*).[1] Here and there the Anthology reveals yearning for, or joy in, progress. And we saw, in another Anthology, the intelligent disciple 'creating' (*bhāvento*), lit. making become, the Way he has chosen. There is nothing of this in Migajāla's vision. For him the Way is a record of unworthy and dangerous things by it destroyed, with no grasp of the wayfarer as pioneer and adventurer hewing down obstacles in his own case, such as a Bunyan would have given us. And so it comes that the stately rhythms roll over and off us, leaving no deepened insight into this Way of the worlds, no conviction that here we have a man who knew himself as a high-spirited and hopeful carver-out of Magga in his own case.

Migajāla is no exception in this oversight. Indeed he is better than many, for he does hymn the Way, as no one else did. But we seek in vain elsewhere for intelligent grasp of Way as meaning Dhamma, and of Dhamma as meaning Way. Dhamma, I repeat, is the seeing in life the 'ought,' the 'should be,' 'may be,' the 'to be.' And here lies also the force in the figure of the Way. But there is no possibility of the To Be coming to fulfilment in any man in this life only. It means many, many lives. It means a very great deal of Bhava, becoming. And the monk set himself against Bhava, set himself to win Nirvāna by a cutting short of the long drawn out becoming. Herein, I believe, lay the root of his failure to worth in justice and honour, the great message of his founder.

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[1] *Samyutta* IV, 250.

As a general result of this dread in the coming to be, the emphasis in Buddhist teaching of the Way is narrowed down to (*a*) its being an avoidance of the extremes of self-indulgence and of asceticism—a merely negative setting—and (*b*) its being a set of eight dispositions in worthy living—a merely moral description. But that is not by any means all the worsening wrought in it by the failure to see the true meaning of life itself.

(*c*) It is significant that Buddhism developed no worthy word for 'life.' The fine word *jīva* we hardly meet with; *jīvitaṃ* usually accompanies murder. The world-word for life which had come into use: *saṃsāra,* had come to have the sinister meaning in Buddhism which we should expect to find. *Magga* was meant to mean choosing aright and so coming to be, *i.e.*, growing, in Saṃsāra. Instead of that, the Way, as we saw, was not the improver, the developer, but the destroyer of Saṃsāra.

(*d*) Again, already in the editing of that first sermon in a fixed wording, the Way with which it opens is dethroned from its central position, and made into a fourth portion only in the formula throwing the chief emphasis on Ill. This is editorial work, and not good as such. But its effects have been very great.

(*e*) Again, it was true, and worthy, to speak of the Messenger of the Way by the name, suitable to the figure, of *Satthavāha*, with its double word play of *sa-attha* (he with the goods) and *satthar* (teacher). But we must go back again to the ancient Sutta-Nipāta to find the *follower* also spoken of as a 'Wayman,' of the better or worse kind: 'way-victor, way-teacher, way-liver, way-corrupter.' Other books, the Majjhima school especially, see in the founder alone the Wayman: Way-shower, Way-upraiser. That each man, each woman was wayfarer, waymaker, wayworther, waychooser:—of any of this we find nothing. And it is only too consistent with the gradual dropping of the 'man' from the caravan, that in the Jātaka, in the figure of life's chariot driving, the charioteer is said to be 'the mind.'[1]

(*f*) Again, with the Way of the worlds sinking to a set of dispositions for this life only, it was not surprising that the still preponderant belief in the worlds of pre- and after-life, coupled with imperfect grasp of them as opportunities of greater becoming should lead to the emergence of another Way: the Fourfold, or the Four Ways and Four Fruits. Here we see a new standard of weak faith brought in: life measured not by the so much of desire and will accomplished, but by the so much of the undesired worked off, *e.g.*, 'once only back to earth' remaining, and 'never back to earth.' What an outlook it is! outlook of the timid, the burnt child, the shipwrecked on the sands of time, the man who has given up. It has been a great disutility to the real message of the Way. It has drained from that a fit wording of the Way's Goal (for to its credit this later Way *is* a world way with a goal): And the real Way, thus blooded, has shrivelled up to being practically a Way of this earth-life only. So much so, that I have heard Europeans asking whether Buddhism taught survival at all, and I have read young Ceylon saying in print, that the Buddha taught, it was only this life that mattered, and that the 'other life' could take care of itself. How have the founders of great religions not been crucified anew times without number!

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[1] No. 544, 'Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka.

(*g*) Lastly the unworthing of life as a progress, a growth, a development through the worlds, involved the worsening, the lowering of a word of incalculable value, a word the worthy representative of which in English hampers me here at every turn. I mean the word *bhava* and its causative *bhāvanā*. Here we have a word, or dual words, ready to India's hand when Buddhism arose, and fraught with no such worsened meaning as, *e.g.*, *kāma* had come to have. *Bhava* is of the ancient Aryan word-treasure. *Bhāvanā* is of very much later growth. No Vedic book appears to use it. The citations of it in the Boethlingkh-Roth Dictionary are only from mediæval Sanskrit works, save one reference to Mahābhārata XII. It was there for the using, if we may accept the Piṭakas as evidence, in Gotama's day. We find it in the Four Nikāyas ; we find it doing service for a meaning where the word 'will' is lacking :—contrasted with terms of intellectual procedure, such as 'what is to be understood,' 'what is to be put away by insight,' 'the strength of calculating,' these being so many and several methods to which *bhāvanā* is the contrasting complement. There are few words which I imagine Gotama will have used more readily, more earnestly. For as I have tried to show, his figure of the Way meant little, if it meant not that deeper progress which the traveller undergoes, progress in more than the mere matter of distance in space traversed. The Way is not merely a figure for man's life or lives :—*saṃsāra* expressed that. The Way is not merely a figure for an orderly shepherding of man's life ; *cariyā*, *ācāra*, and many other terms convey that. The Magga was a figure of man's nature, man's life in *its bedrock essential*, and that is a *bhava*, and a *bhāvanā*.

I will go so far as to suggest, that Buddhist early influence, yes, and Jain early influence too—the Jains also have *bhāvanā*—promoted the use of this word, a use in which it is very possible that early Yoga teaching gave them a lead. But the strong rich meaning of the term *bhāvanā* (and *bhāvanaṃ*), to which justice is done in the Dictionary just cited, is not as a rule well rendered by Sanskrit or Pali translators. The favourite words are 'meditation,' 'reflection,' 'pondering,' for which in their proper place the texts have the fit terms. 'Cultivation' is given its turn, and this is much better, for cultivation, *e.g.*, of a tree, a field, without coming to be, without growth, without development, is as nought. Now there was no doubt in the Buddhist Commentarial tradition, that *bhāvanā* was not to be defined save in this way. Buddhaghosa expounds it thus :—"*Bhāveti* means one begets, one causes to arise, one causes to grow. It means that here (*i.e.*, in Jhāna). Elsewhere the meaning is modified by prefixes."[1] Yet so little, for all this sound exegesis, do the scriptures bring to the front the vital connection between (*a*) the figure of man as wayfarer and (*b*) man as growing, as becoming in and through all his activities, that it was no more evident to me than it is yet to either Buddhist or writer on Buddhism. It was when I had, 28 years ago, to find a good word for *bhāveti*, *bhāvanā*, that the *seed* of the full significance—no more—was sown. A decade passed, and then not only Buddhaghosa, but Sāriputta came to foster the seedling. It was over the translation : *paññā bhāvitabbā* : 'wisdom (or insight) must be made-to-become.'[2] So Sāriputta. Buddhaghosa had already for me brought to bear on *paññā* a very distinctive saying :—"wisdom having yearned wins to manifestation of the Way."[3] I was then compiling a Buddhist psychology, and the place of *paññā* in that very ragged garden of skandhas was an old difficulty. That paññā was *the man* in willing the new, the good, the better, man 'making *himself* become'—well, I was not yet so grown as to see that. None the less those two notable personages had shown me a true thing : that to come to know is an active process of making to become. There can be no true study of the 'mind' of man where this is not kept well in front.

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[1] Commentary on *Dhammasanganī*, § 1.

[2] *Majjhima*, Sutta 43.

[3] *Visuddhi Magga*, 437.

We are to-day getting ready to see, indeed we are backward if we do not see, more in *bhāvanā* than did any Indian cult of the past, whether it was Buddhist or another. The Buddhist saw a little more in it than any other. They will have forgotten or dropped out in their records many sayings of their founder, in which he showed the close bond between his Way and Becoming, between man the Wayfarer and man as grower, as progressive, as coming to be, as 'making to arise' (*uppādetar*). These things will happen—do we not see that it has happened in other creeds ?—when the followers have not been big enough to rise to the level of their founder, and of his true soul-mates. But the tradition of the early teaching of that close bond still flickered in the life of the Order. And here and there we come upon an outcrop of it, as geologists would say. Very slight they are, but in view of the opinion about them obtaining among contemporary rival schools ; they are far too much ignored.

Beside the allusions given above, I will quote a reply ascribed to that lovely woman, the lay-disciple Visākhā, partly because *bhāvanā* does not come into the formularized portion of the reply ; partly because the English translation is not apt. Visākhā (*Vinaya* Mahavagga, VIII, 15) in describing the benefit she will reap if permitted to exercise further generosity, speaks of the joy, content and peace she will feel (so much is put into editorial formula) ; then goes on : "that will be to me a 'becoming' (or growth, *bhāvanā*) in moral sense, in moral strength, in wisdom." It has been translated 'an exercise,' but Visākhā is clearly speaking of effect, of fruit, of result of exercise. Now no one made finer response to the founder's teaching than she, and it is possible that she was reacting to the stress he will have laid on the *bhāvanā* of the man, that is, of the man-in-man.

Note, too, that she says "there will be in (to) 'me' a *bhāvanā*." It is true that her natural, direct speech is editorially emended, and instead of Visākhā, we get 'her' split up into '*indriyas*,' '*balas*,' and '*bojjhangas*.' Here as elsewhere we see the decadent work, whereby the once natural converse between teacher and disciple is redacted into an expulsion of the 'man,' and a substitution of functions and processes. We may see this in the term *mano-bhāvanīyo* of the Suttas, used to denote the earnest liver, and by the Commentator Dhammapāla equated as '*mano-vaḍḍhanīyo*,' 'he whose mind is growing.' We lose sight of 'he whose' in 'mind.' But a ray of light comes from the Dhammapadam, the anthology where the 'man' (*attan*) has, for some lost reason and in many a verse, been suffered to persist. "Better," we read, "is the homage paid for but one moment to him-of-the-self-that-has-grown (*bhāvit-'attānaṃ*), than a hundred years of sacrifice to the Fire at the cost of a thousand." The commentator glides lightly over the thin ice here, as he does elsewhere in passages affirming the *attā* (vide *passim*) ; he just parses by *vaḍḍhit 'attanam* ; he does not give us makeshifts in terms of skandhas for the for him perhaps awkward word *attānaṃ*. He merely repeats it ; indeed in the preceding verse, beginning with its emphatic '*attā have*' *jitaṃ seyyo*...he is concerned not with how one is to understand '*attā*' but only with the grammatical anomaly of *jitaṃ* for *jito*. Nor is he more explicit throughout the subsequent chapter called 'Attavagga.' He is in fact seeing in the word nothing more than the linguistic convenience of '-self' as a reflexive affix. But the significance for us lies in this, that as an analytic paraphraser, he refrains from drawing any distinction between this usage and that reality (in his tradition a non-reality), which *attā* means here or anywhere.

One word more on *bhāvanā* :—Very noteworthy is the Buddhist choice and retained choice of the verb, when a word is needed to express man's activity in what, in my first article, I spoke of as 'more-will.' In other words, when the man who is seeking the more-worthy way is at work upon the new, the unwonted, the abnormal, the word *bhāveti* is used. This was more especially when he was engaged in Jhāna and in the Iddhipādas. In the former, he was working to get rapt from both the outer world and from work of mind about it; he was seeking access by hearing (though this became dropped from the tradition) to another world: Rūpa or Arūpa. In the latter he was using will in an intenser degree to obtain an abnormal development or 'becoming' in himself: Very vigorous terms of effort are used in the will-training formulas called 'Right Efforts,' but not *bhāveti*. The use of the word in Jhāna is highly significant, for that which the man is 'making to become' is 'magga,' the Way, to another world. It is the meaning of the Way in the first sermon. You may translate it, for Jhāna, 'means of access' if you will, but it will mean the same. For Way is means of access and this after all is the greater meaning of life itself, the meaning of life for the 'man,' the 'man-in-man,' who is child not of this or that world only, but of all the worlds, of the Eternal. Jhāna was a forestalling the arrival by death at another world by a communing with it here and now, a search-light as it were, thrown upon the way ahead.

So much then at least remains in the Buddhist scriptures of a mandate on becoming and making to become, which dates, to my belief, from very early days, because it belongs to the full and true conception of what the WAY of the first sermon implied and involved. For I would say it once more—so has it been overlooked—'way' means progress, unfolding, coming to know, coming to be. This is the peculiar Buddhist emphasis lying in Way, more so than any external goal of fulfilment, any externally conceived share of consummation. For Dhamma if not 'anywhere,' Nirvana is not 'anywhere.' The Divine is within the man. But the full becoming of That is a long, long business, a long, long wayfaring.

And too much is it forgotten by modern Buddhists, that it was not as advocates of the Impermanent, or the Not-man that mediaeval India held them to be in error. It was because they, the Buddhas, maintained the becoming of that which is from that which is not.[1] I am not taking up the foolish word-quibble here, which does not see, that given an eternal source, there can never be any time when it can be said 'nothing is.' I only refer to it to show how the tradition of *bhava* and *bhāvanā* will have lingered, even in the decadent Buddhist Sāsana of mediaeval India.

Why then do words so really fundamental in Buddhism as *bhava* and *bhāvanā* appear in the scriptures, the one with the condemned meaning of *Āsava* (canker) and *Diṭṭhi* (speculative opinion), the other in so hole-and-corner a fashion that no writer on Buddhism gives due heed to it? I return to the answers given earlier in this my last chapter. The monk, because of his world-lorn theory of Ill, set himself against *bhava*, refusing to see in life and more life the given opportunity, the only possible opportunity, for that unfolding, that educing, that developing, that making to become, implied in the man's coming to maturity, to perfection. Starve, root out desire for *bhava*, he taught; get to the End as soon as possible, the end of all this appalling ill. He had no forward view. It was only in retrospect that saintly singers found food for joy. It was to satisfy a much later wave of longing that, in the Milinda, Nirvana is described as the City of the Ought-to-be, the holy Utopia.

And the 'man' too, the *puruṣa*, being starved out, rooted out, the process, the work of making-to-become, only retained worth by being transferred to the *ways* of the man : his faculties, his mind, his wisdom, his more-will, his rapt musing.

Had not this woeful blindness come upon them, had they clung to their Magga, to that for which it really stood, and not cut from their feet all that makes for the 'man's' life-wayfaring, they might well have come to anticipate the centuries and have used their *vivaṭṭa*, the very word of 'evolution' itself.

[1] *Sankhya-Kārikā* Nārāyaṇa on Gauḍapāda's commentary, Sutra IX.

The word is almost solely applied to the evolution and involution (*samvaṭṭa*) of world-change. But a near approach to its application to man occurs once in the line :

> Thus by the evolution of the deed (*Kammavivaṭṭena*)
> The man who spoils is spoiled in his turn.
>
> Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Kosala, 2, 5.

So near were they and yet so far! So near it would seem there came to those after-men of the Sakiyaputras :—

> Daughters of Time, the hypocritic Days
> Muffled and dumb, like barefoot dervishes,
> And marching single in an endless file,
> Bring diadems and fagots in their hands.
> To each they offer gifts after his will,
> Bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all.
> I in my pleachèd garden watched the pomp,
> Forgot my morning wishes, hastily
> Took bread and a few apples—and the Day
> Turned and departed silent...
> I too late
> Under her solemn fillet saw the scorn!
>
> Emerson.

With sorrow not with acrimony can we not also say of those followers, that they forgot the morning-will of their great Teacher, who taught the Way of man's coming to be; that they turned in fear from the nobler gifts in the hands of their Day; that they hid the man-in-themselves of the Greater Garden; that they rejected Bhava and preferred mere Anitya; that they 'took hastily' the bread of the little garden of the pleached lines of the cloister, seeing only danger and worsening in the wider work, the longer way that lay beyond the walls?

Unworthy through the evolution of their 'man'-less tenet to reform the brahman tradition, and too wavering in their faith in 'becoming,' in evolution, to build up a recreation of that tradition, they faded unhonoured, unlamented out of India. And in the daughter churches of Southern Asia, the children of the Mother-sāsana took over and fostered the belief in a Magga that was wilted, a man that was a mere complex, a Becoming that was only of 'dhammas,' states of mind, and an acquiescence in the social supremacy of the monk. We have evidence (such as it is, no more) in the Ceylon epics, that this was so from the first missionary campaign sent there. Of the ten 'texts' of sermons quoted, while the monk-ideal is stressed, *bhāvanā*, growth in holiness, is ignored, and the Central Message of the Way, the first 'sermon' is, almost as it were thrown in, *the last*! The first text, it is true, is of stories, but then the sermon was to the ladies of the court—good enough perhaps it was thought!

Ended now are these few Kindred Sayings, and may they find readers who are both critical and well-disposed. If I have had an uneven road to travel, it is firstly because the writer, using a language which has dropped its worthy word for *bhava*, writes of a mandate given in a language which never had a word for 'will,' secondly, because the writer, in dealing with what is now of the past, of the old world, has for theme that which was, that which is ever the New.

In many things have we given the lead to Europe. If in one century for instance, we wrenched off the shackles of despotism, France did so a century and a half later, Russia, Germany and Austria more than a century after that. Yet are we, if not in act, yet in word and code, lovers of the old, the established, the wonted. Significant herein is our heedless dropping, of all words, the word which most worthily expresses the coming to be, the New, emerging out of the old: *wairthan*, the *werden* wisely preserved in Teutonic tongues. We have to fall back on the weak word 'become,' which while it means the 'coming to be,' means no less the 'suitable.' India had of old, as the Teutons have still, the double wording of existence:

asti, bhū; 'to be, to become.' Whether in her many modern tongues she retains both, my ignorance knows not. The important problem for her and for us is: so to worth 'becoming' that either in fostering or in recreating we have a fit and worthy word for it.

That anyway is the heart and the aim of what I have here tried to say. That anyway is the very bond and kinship in these 'kindred sayings':—Our will is the fundamental inner (or psychic) activity of the very 'man,' the *puruṣa*. In willing he is 'becoming' other than what he was. Hence as in a way 'new,' newer than before, he goes on to will the new, because he has gone on to 'worth' the new. And the newer, the better, the best he goes on willing is of and for the very Man. This is the Way and man the Wayfarer; and the End is not yet. This is the Way of man; this is the Magga of Gotama.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THE MISSION OF GEORGE WELDON AND ABRAHAM NAVARRO TO AURANGZIB

The mission of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro to the Court of Aurangzib was different in character from that of other English envoys. They were not directly sent by the authority of the Crown but by Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay. To understand the importance of their mission it is necessary to make a short retrospect of the circumstances under which these envoys were sent to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Great Mughal.

The last years of the seventeenth century had proved for the East Indian Company a period of incessant trouble which contributed largely to the decline of their commercial prosperity. These misfortunes were partly due to their own action, partly to the rivalry of other European nations and not least to the aggressions of the Mughal officials. The English merchants in all the Company's settlements came into constant conflict with the latter, who levied "illegal exactions on their merchandise, summoned them to their Courts of Justice and exposed them to other indignities." It became apparent to the authorities at home that they should adopt a strong line of action in order to get rid of their dependance upon the Mughal authorities, and in 1687 they determined to consolidate the affairs of the Company under a regulated administration. With that end in view a fleet was fitted out and King James's authority was obtained to empower the Governor, Sir John Child, to make peace or to declare war against the Mughal if no reparation were offered for the losses and insults endured by the Company at the hands of the Mughal officials. This attempt on the part of the English proved abortive, both in Bengal and Western India, owing to mismanagement and the climatic conditions of the country.

The Mughal Emperor had just completed his conquest of Bijapur and Golconda and subjugated the Mahrathas, so that circumstances turned in his favour against the English. Sir John Child was besieged in his own town and castle and the Mughal's admiral Sidhi reduced the place to great straits. The factories were attacked and the Emperor issued orders for the expulsion of all the English from his dominions. As Arnold Wright has pointed out in his book "Annesley of Surat and His Times," Sir John Child, who impersonated the war policy of the Company, became almost lachrymose at the disastrous results of the Company's war against the Mughal. Although the English bravely defended their settlements they were powerless before an enemy who outnumbered them. Child at last realised his blunder and on reviewing the circumstances, saw that he should sue for peace. Accordingly, he and his Council decided to send a mission to the Court of Aurangzib consisting of George Weldon,[1] Abraham Navarro, a Jew, and Mir Nazim, a local merchant having influential friends at the Mughal Court. President Child and his Council gave detailed instructions to the envoys, together with the articles of a *phirmaund* which they had drawn out as a guide for their negotiations at the Court. They pointed out in these instructions that, when the English first began to trade in the Mughal's dominions, they only paid 3½ *per cent.* custom for goods to be sold at Surat and at all other ports of India; but no duty was paid for silver and gold, nor for any provisions imported or exported. The Company had lately suffered much from the hands of the Mughal officials, who had illegally extracted money from them. They reminded the envoys that

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[1] Colonel George Weldon came of a well-known English family. His brother, Dom Bennet Weldon, was a Benedictine monk, who left an interesting account of him. George Weldon married Lady Susanna Child, who died on board the *Benjamin*, April 25, 1697, on her way back to England with her husband. Her body "adorned with jewels to the value of £500 sterling" was buried at sea the following day. The Colonel himself met with a tragic end off the coast of Mauritius on July 2 of the same year. See *A Chronicle of the English Benedictine Monks.*

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in 1663 or 1664, when Sivaji and his forces plundered and partly burnt Surat, the English defended their factory and several times fought his troops in the streets of the town. The Emperor was so pleased with the brave conduct of the English that he reduced the custom duty to two *per cent.*, and exempted them from paying any custom duty for one year. In the year 1679 the Emperor suddenly resolved to levy a poll tax (*jizia*) on all people not of his own religion. As the English, the Dutch and the French refused to pay that tax on the demand by the Governor of Surat, the custom duty was raised to 3½ *per cent.*, which was more than 1½ *per cent.* ever paid in the Mughal's dominions. That imposition was a great grievance to all the European nations concerned, and specially to the English, who were the only people to import gold and silver. Directions were given to the envoys that no custom duty should be levied beyond two *per cent.*, and they must not yield on that point. The envoys were warned to be discreet about the spending of money for facilitating the negotiations, and not to be deceived by fair work and to be zealous in the interest of their king and country. The Council impressed upon the envoys "to be brisk and warm, as well as prudent, gentle and handsome, or you will have nothing done." They illustrated their injunctions by observing that

> "a Dogg yt is hungry will Eye his master and attend him deligently when he is eating his victualls, but if his Master tosses him a bone away he is gone, after having gott what he looked for and attended for; And just such is ye nature of these people especially att ye Mogull's Court, where when they have served their own turnes away they are gone and leave you to another cranny yt he may gett something from you too, and soe you will be tossed from one hungry courtier to another till yor money is all gone, and have noe business att all done, and att last be laughed att for a foole."[1]

The envoys were further to state that the *Bunder* hitherto allowed had been lost, and that the English had only left for

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[1] F. 2, O.C. 48, No. 5687.

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their use a small warehouse standing near Surat in an inconvenient position. It was hoped that the Emperor would grant them a suitable piece of ground for that purpose.

The President and the Council further instructed the envoys to keep a diary of their journey and transactions, and make notes of the towns through which they would pass on their way to the Mughal Court, and of the languages, religion, coins, measures and weights; noticing also the various commodities available for sale, the fertility of the soil and its produce and the condition of the people under the Mughal Government. But, unfortunately, Weldon and Navarro disregarded this part of their instructions, for they do not give any substantial account of the country in their diary which might have thrown some additional light on our subject. The envoys were provided by the Council with a faithful interpreter in the person of one Noequedah Lolla, who would serve them at the Court to the best of his ability. They were also provided with presents for the Emperor; and a considerable amount of money for their own expenses and for the purchase of suitable goods for Europe. They were to insist in securing privileges for Bengal and the continual possession of Fort St. George and the town which they had enjoyed during the reign of the King of Golconda. The President and his Council trusted that the envoys would be able to finish their business with all expedition. They were further warned concerning the Dutch Ambassador at the Court and how they were to deal with him, as he was a "cunning shrewd man."

The envoys left Bombay with these instructions on December 10, 1689, for the Mughal Court, where they arrived just as the Emperor was removing his camp to Bijapore.[1] Before their departure Sir John Child sent a flattering letter to Aurangzib describing him " Lord of Beneficence and liberalitic, Solomon-like Throne, Epitome of Priesthood, Scanderberg-like wisdom, Heavenly judgement, Potentate of the World, centre of Security, Emperor of the Earth." Sir John was evidently feeling that the fortunes of the English in India were in such a serious condition that in order to gain any favour from the Emperor he must assume the role of a humble suppliant.

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[1] *See* O. C. 5709, India Office.

They set out from a place called Cullian and arrived near the Mughal's *Leskar* after six days of strenuous journey. The news of their arrival was immediately conveyed to the Mughal, who sent a message of welcome through his Wazir Asad Khan, and ordered that they should be accommodated in the neighbourhood of the Imperial Camp. They were at first civilly received and entertained by the Mughal's officials; but these outward courtesies were only assumed manifestations of goodwill. After some considerable difficulty they were able to obtain an interview with the Wazir, who received them "in a little place made up in his Tent Door, and discoursed us standing."[1] He informed them of the King's indignation against the conduct of the English; but assured them of his assistance in carrying out their mission to a successful conclusion.

In this critical situation, when the negotiations at the Court were in progress, Sir John Child died suddenly at Bombay on February 4, 1689-90. The Council at Bombay acted wisely in not communicating the news of his death to the envoys until their business was over.

Meanwhile the envoys were engaged in consulting with the Mughal's ministers about the affairs of the Company, and with the help of rich presents they were able to obtain admission into the Emperor's presence. Their reception by the Emperor was unusual and humiliating to the Company whose interests they were representing at the Court, for "their hands being tied by a *sash* before them, and they were obliged to prostrate. The king gave them a severe reprimand, and then asked their demands. They first made a confession of their faults and desired pardon."[2]

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[1] *See* Sloane MS., 1910, British Museum.

[2] *See* p. 224 of *A New Account of the East Indies*, by Capt. Alexander Hamilton. Weldon and his colleague make no reference to this reception in their diary. *See* also pp. 16-17 of Harl 7310, British Museum.

The negotiations were hindered by a Dutch representative[1] at the Court who endeavoured to prejudice the Emperor against the English; but his efforts in that direction were not successful, for neither the Mughal's ministers nor the leading Surat merchants desired to see the English ruined. It may be mentioned that the envoys paid over a lakh of rupees to Ruhullah Khan, Asad Khan and Muktar Khan in order to obtain their assistance and goodwill for furthering their mission. The Emperor after careful consideration, agreed to renew the *phirmaunds,* stipulating at the same time that the English should reimburse his subjects and that all losses and damages should be made good. On those conditions only would he order Sidhi and his army to quit Bombay. The envoys experienced, however, the greatest difficulty in persuading the Emperor to fulfil his promise, for it was "a maxime where once his forces beleaguerd a place they either conquer or are beaten from it."[2] There was no other course for the envoys to pursue but to accept the Emperor's conditions and they therefore did so, and left the Court to return to Bombay. The Emperor thereupon ordered Ettimand Khan, Governor of Surat, and Sidhi Yacood Khan to cease hostilities and evacuate Bombay. He also commanded the Governor to deliver the *phirmaund* into the hands of the English; and for that purpose George Weldon, Mr. Harris and Mr. John Vaux, Deputy Governor of Bombay, proceeded to Surat to receive it from the Mughal Governor with all dignity and honour. They were attended with an imposing escort, including all the persons employed in the factory. The *phirmaund* was delivered to them by the Governor in a gilded box at a special *Durbar* and a *serpaw* was also bestowed on Vaux as a mark of Imperial favour. After the ceremony was concluded, they returned to the factory in a triumphant procession. Their joy was short-lived, for the English discovered to their sorrow and amazement that the *phirmaund* from which so much was expected was an expression of despotism towards the English. Sir John Child had requested liberty of trade and a specification of conditions under which the English could allow their goods to be stored and servants to trade at Surat without danger of being oppressed by the Mughal officials. Intsead of that the new *phirmaund* made it appear that the English would be subjected to more humiliating and tyrannical regulations than they had ever experienced since the earliest establishment of a factory in India.

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[1] The envoys were supplied with interesting information whilst at the camp regarding the many Europeans employed by the Emperor. They were daily deserting his service on account of the prejudice entertained by him against the Christians.

[2] *See* No. 5738 O. C. 48 I. O.

The *phirmaund* of Aurangzib relating to the English affairs at Surat and other parts of his dominions was drawn up in the Persian language and dated the 28th January, 1690, in the thirty-third year of the Emperor's reign. It was laid down that Ettimand Khan should realise from the English a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 as an indemnity for the losses suffered by the Mughal's subjects. The English should be allowed to coin their own bullion and to buy or sell their own goods. If the Mughal's officials require any goods from the English warehouses, they must apply for them through the Governor, who shall be responsible for payment. The Emperor further authorised the Governor to protect the English from any oppression. All goods sent to Swally for shipment and not taken on board might be stored again in Surat without a second duty being demanded; no further custom to be paid on goods brought from the interior than that payable according to the *phirmaund* of Shah Jehan. It was ordered that speedy despatch should be given at the custom house; and that all Englishmen and brokers should be discharged from prison. The goods for shipment at Surat, brought from other parts of the empire, should pay customs in one place only; and the same protection was extended to goods arriving at Surat destined for other parts of the country. No letters of the Company were to be intercepted at the ports; and a new plot of land was to be given to the English for repairing ships.

The Governor of Surat was further authorised to deal with complaints arising out of custom-duty charged for provisions and apparel if already paid; the English should be treated like the Mughal's own subjects in case of robberies of goods on the roads. Slaves belonging to the English and found escaping should be captured and restored to their masters by the Governor. All customs were to be paid at the close of the year; and no goods to be taken and opened if the invoice were shown. The Emperor allowed Englishmen to go freely in and out of Surat; and directed that Rs. 80,000 taken from the English warehouses should be credited. Finally, he ordered that the complaints against Mr. Bowcher and the one concerning the murder of two Englishmen should be tried by the law of the land.[1] The Mughal also granted a *phirmaund* for Bengal, authorising Ibrahim Khan, the Governor, to protect the English in carrying on their trade as before.

When the news of this treaty with the Mughal reached England, the Court of Directors expressed their great indignation; they did not realise that the moment was not opportune to continue their quarrel with the Mughal. The English at Bombay and other parts of India, however, now felt themselves in a position to re-establish their trade, which had suffered much during the war against the Mughal. There were still many difficulties to contend with, such as the loss of revenue and opposition from both Indians and Portuguese, but the factors resolutely set to work to overcome all hindrances.

HARIHAR DAS

Note.—There is in preparation a detailed account of the mission from the present writer's pen.—H. D.

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[1] *See* O. C. 48, No. 5`04, I. O; also *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, Vol. 6.

THE VOLUNTARISTS' CONCEPTION OF PERSONALITY

(*A Critique.*)

Of late, it has been the tendency of psychology to treat volition as 'the primary and constitutive function of mind,' and intellect as 'a secondary evolution.' Schopenhauer was, perhaps, the first to expound this view. In recent times Dr. Paulsen has advocated it and tried to defend it with considerable ability. With Prof. Paulsen will is the primary and primitive form of the soul-life, whereas intelligence is a secondary evolution and comes to be grafted on the will in its later stages. Thus will is the essence of the self, and intelligence is only a secondary product.

Now, the first objection to such a theory is that the whole argument involves a vicious circle. To subordinate thought or intelligence to will and to regard the former as a secondary product, and the latter as the primary function of mind seem to involve the fallacy of *petitio principii.* Is it not by intelligence or thought that we form such a theory? Is it not by intelligence or thought that we are enabled to know that will is the primary and constitutive element of mind, whereas intelligence is a secondary evolution? If so, is it not then an explanation in a circle when we say that intelligence explains will and will explains intelligence? Our intelligence tells us, on the one hand, that will is the primary and constitutive element of mind, and, on the other, that intelligence is the secondary product which appears at the later stages of the development of will. An important question suggests itself here: Was intelligence present in will in some form before it came into being as intelligence? Did will contain intelligence in germinal form before the latter came to be grafted upon it as a secondary product? If the answer be in the negative, then will could not evolve intelligence without violating the Law of Causation or Evolution. The cause and effect must be *homogeneous* in all respects, so that the effect cannot have any new element which cannot be explained by the cause; but in the present case intelligence as the effect is distinct from will as the cause; therefore, intelligence cannot be the product of will. But it may be said that our will does not produce intelligence, it is the soul-life that produces it. This is no answer at all, for will is said to be the primary and constitutive element of such a life. The same conclusion will be drawn if we consider the evolution, instead of causation, of intelligence. A thing can evolve another, when the latter is contained, in some form or other, in the former; the evolute is nothing but a stage of the evolvent. If that were not so, anything could evolve any other thing; a block of stone, for example, could evolve water, or oil, or anything else, and water or oil could evolve dog, or cat, or anything else. Thus, if will did not contain the germ of intelligence, it could not evolve it. Therefore, the will from which the intelligence is supposed to be evolved, must be an intelligent will. If, on the other hand, the answer be in the affirmative, it is admitted that will is intelligent, and that such a will only is the primary and constitutive element of mind.

We should consider another point in this connexion. If an intelligent will is the primary and constitutive element of soul-life—if there was a time when there was no intelligence, but will only, how could intelligence know such a will and how could it know such a time? Can intelligence know a thing at the time of whose existence it did not exist? Can intelligence know things existing before it came into being? It may be replied that it can know them by inference from present observed facts biological, psychological and historical. We find that the activities of the lower animals and the human nurselings are all unintelligent and determined by blind impulses; by these facts we infer that the primitive form of mind is unconscious, unintelligent will, which becomes conscious or intelligent later on. Here there are many unwarranted assumptions and confusions :

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In the first place, it is a mere surmise that the activities of the lower animals and human nurselings are determined solely by blind or unconscious impulses. How do we know that the impulses are blind or unconscious, that is, not guided by intelligence? Modern psychology, following Leibnitz and others, holds that there are unconscious (*i.e.*, subconscious) ideas which determine most of our activities and that our subconscious life is the background and support of our conscious life. If we apply this doctrine to the life of the lower animals and the human nurselings we may say that their activities also are guided and determined by subconscious ideas or rudimentary intelligence. This contention is supported by Prof. Bergson, one of the great philosophical biologists. He remarks: "There is no intelligence in which some traces of instinct are not to be discovered, more especially no instinct that is not surrounded with a fringe of intelligence." (*Creative Evolution*, p. 143.) This is the famous doctrine of pan-psychism, which Dr. Paulsen also has ably defended. But the difference between him and me lies in the fact that while he conceives the primary and constitutive element of soul-life to be unconscious will, I conceive it to be a conscious or intelligent one.

In the second place, an absolutely unconscious or unintelligent will is something non-existent. Even if it were existent we could not know it, or make any assertion about it. The object of knowledge must always be related, and, therefore, analogous in nature, to the subject; of two absolutely contradictory and opposite things one cannot know another, because they lie absolutely apart from, and independently of, each other: they cannot act and react upon each other, and therefore no relation and communication are possible between them. Again, when one thing knows another, it makes the latter its content, *i.e.*, includes it within itself; and it will not alter the fact if we say that what it includes is not the thing itself but its idea, for the idea is nothing if it does not truly express and represent the thing; it cannot even have the idea unless the thing is related and analogous to it. Therefore, intelligence cannot know an absolutely unintelligent will, for it is wholly contradictory and opposite to the latter. In fact, there is nothing absolutely unconscious, for it would, then, be absolutely opposite to and beyond the conscious, and would, therefore, be unknown and unknowable. What we call unconscious is really subconscious, that is, possessing a lower degree of consciousness. And this is the meaning which modern psychology assigns to the unconscious, after labelling it as self-contradictory when it is used to mean simply the opposite to the conscious.

In the third place, intelligence cannot know the time when it was non-existent; for to know it, it must know its own beginning or origin, but to know its own beginning or origin, it must put a limit to itself, and in putting such a limit it must transcend the limit and pass over to what lies beyond the limit. Or, otherwise expressed, intelligence cannot put a limit to itself, because, as soon as it puts such a limit, it transcends the limit and knows what lies beyond it; no limit can be put to anything without knowing both what lies within and what lies without the limit. Thus intelligence cannot know its beginning or origin, and if it arbitrarily supposes that it has a beginning or origin, it virtually transcends it, goes beyond it and thus nullifies it. In fact, intelligence is unlimited—it is a universal principle which can put a limit to everything else than itself. Moreover, if intelligence were absolutely limited, it could not even know itself to be limited; it could know itself no doubt, but not as limited, for such a knowledge would involve that of its distinction from, and contrast with, the unlimited. It is a fundamental condition of all knowledge that to know a thing fully it must be distinguished from its "different," or what it is not. To know, for instance, this pen I am writing with I must know also what is not this pen; similarly, to know this pen as limited I must know also what is unlimited, *i.e.*, what is not-limited. As Prof. J. Caird remarks:

> "In so far as the lower animals are devoid of reason, they are unconscious of their irrationality, and it is only we in virtue of our rational

intelligent nature, who can discern their lack of it. So, it might be possible for another and higher intelligence, an observer of human nature possessed of absolute knowledge, to pronounce that man's knowledge is purely relative, that there is a region of realities from which human thought is shut out, but it is not possible for one and the same consciousness to be purely relative and conscious of its relativity." (*Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 15-16.)

The above considerations clearly prove that intelligence is not a secondary product or evolution; it is the primary and constitutive element of soul-life; it is itself a universal principle without limit, beginning or origin. But this does not imply that it is inactive, it is an *active principle*, and thus, though intelligence and will are distinct, they are yet inter-connected; they are rather two inter-related functions of one and the same self.

Now, it is clear that all those theorists, who disparage thought or intellect and elevate another element of mind over it, making it something secondary and unfundamental, wholly forget that their fetish lives in the life of thought or intelligence, and is what it is only through thought or intelligence. Thought is the universal prius and the ultimate basis of all theory and truth, and it is only through intellectual jugglery that they can make thought other than what it is.

Intellect is disparaged from a different point of view by Prof. Bergson in his "Introduction to Metaphysics" and "Creative Evolution." According to him, the ultimate reality is Life which consists in a continuous flow or change, and is a conscious principle unceasingly creating new things. In the course of its creative evolution, which itself is an eternal process, never complete but always progressing towards its completion, it gives birth to matter and intellect, the latter always acting upon the former, and moulding and fashioning it in accordance with the requirements of our actions. Our own individual life is a definite and unique centre—a mere mode or moment—of that universal life; therefore, all the characteristics possessed by the latter are reproduced, in a limited way, in the former. The method by which we can know the true nature of our life is not analysis as employed by science, but intuition, by which Bergson means, "*intellectual sympathy* by which one places oneself within an object in order to coincide with what is unique in it and consequently inexpressible."

The salient points in Bergson's contention may be stated in this way: (*i*) There is a reality that is external and yet given immediately to the mind. (*ii*) This reality is mobility. Not *things* made, but things in the making, not self-maintaining *states*, but only changing states, exist. Rest is never more than apparent, or rather relative. The consciousness we have of our own self in its continual flux introduces us to the interior of reality, on the model of which we must represent other realities. All reality, therefore, is tendency, if we agree to mean by tendency an incipient change of direction. (*iii*) Our intellect, when it follows its natural bent, proceeds on the one hand by solid perceptions; and on the other, by stable conceptions. It starts from the immobile, and only conceives and expresses movement as a function of immobility. It takes up its position in ready-made concepts, and endeavours to catch in them, as in a net, something of the reality which passes. This is certainly not done in order to obtain an internal and metaphysical knowledge of the real, but simply in order to utilise the real, each concept (as also each sensation) being a *practical question* which our activity puts to reality and to which reality replies, as must be done in business, by a Yes or a No. But in doing that it lets that which is its very essence, escape from the real. (*iv*) It is clear that fixed concepts may be extracted by our thought from mobile reality; but there are no means of reconstructing the mobility of the real with fixed concepts. Dogmatism, however, in so far as it has been a builder of systems, has always attempted this reconstruction. In this it was bound to fail. It is on this importance, and on this importance only, that the sceptical, idealist, critical doctrines really dwell: in fact, all doctrines that deny to our intelligence the power of attaining the absolute. The demonstrations which have been given of the relativity of our knowledge are therefore tainted with an original vice; they imply, like the dogmatism they attack, that all knowledge must necessarily start from concepts with fixed outlines, in order to clasp with them the reality which flows. (*v*) But the truth is that our intelligence can follow the opposite method. It can place itself within the mobile reality and adopt its ceaselessly changing direction: in short, can grasp it by means of that intellectual sympathy which we call intuition. To philosophise therefore, is to invert the habitual direction of the work of thought. (*vi*) What is relative is the symbolic knowledge by pre-existing concepts, which proceeds from the fixed to the moving, and not the intuitive knowledge which installs itself in that which is moving and adopts the very life of things (*vide Introduction to Metaphysic*, pp. 55-63).

We shall here consider only those points which have direct bearing upon the subject under discussion. The essence of personality is, for Bergson, a continuous conscious flow or change which is a unity-in-variety; but it is an extraordinary unity-in-variety that can be grasped by intuition, not by intellect. It is an ever-flowing, ever-mobile creative principle which unceasingly gives birth to newer and newer things. We must notice and examine three assertions that are made here: (*i*) the essence of life or personality; (*ii*) the method of knowing it; (*iii*) the genesis of intellect.

(*i*) Bergson's conception of personality may be compared to that of a conscious creative will which gives birth to intellect and thus transcends intellect, or, in other words, personality consists in a conscious but unintelligent will. Therefore he differs from Schopenhauer and Prof. Paulsen in holding will to be conscious, but agrees with them in regarding it to be unintelligent. Now, the question is, Can such a principle be known, if there be such a principle at all? Bergson tells us that we can directly be aware of it by intuition, and not by intellect. What is, then, intuition? He tells us that it is an intellectual sympathy, and that our intelligence "can place itself within the mobile reality (*i.e.*, the conscious flow or change) and adopt its ceaselessly changing direction ; in short, can grasp it by means of that *intellectual sympathy* which we call intuition." Here he admits that intelligence can grasp life or the mobile reality by a sort of intellectual activity which he calls intuition. Thus, for him, intelligence or intellect and intuition are not entirely distinct and opposite things, but the same thing viewed from different standpoints : the intellect which grasps the life or the mobile reality is called intuition, and the same intellect which works by using cut-and-dry concepts, *i.e.*, by analysis, is called intelligence or intellect. But it is curious that after defining intuition as an intellectual sympathy, he flatly denies to intellect the capacity for grasping the real. He, thus, certainly contradicts himself.

Now, if intellect is capable of putting itself in the inner nature of our life or of the self, and of grasping what it really is, how can that life or the self be other than intelligent? If that life or the self were absolutely unintelligent, how could intelligence or intellect penetrate and grasp it? Of two absolutely contradictory or opposite things, one cannot penetrate and grasp the other. But the fact that our intelligence is capable of doing so clearly shows that our life or self and our intelligence or intellect are not really wholly antagonistic or opposite, but are analogous in nature ; and that, thus, the former is not only conscious, but also intelligent. Or, in other words, the essence of our life or self is intelligence. Our life or self is, thus, an *intelligent will*, which ceaselessly and continuously undergoes a process of change and thereby gives rise to ever new facts. This fact can be proved in another way. The conscious flow of change or mobility which gives birth to intellect at a later stage must itself contain the germ of intellect as something inherent in its nature, for, otherwise, it could not produce or evolve the intellect, and if it were supposed, as Bergson himself did, to do so, it would violate the Law of causation and evolution—it would violate the fundamental condition of causation and evolution that the cause could not produce or evolve an effect wholly antagonistic to itself. These considerations prove that the life, as conceived by Bergson, is not really unintelligent, but an intelligent principle, which *our* intelligence or intellect is capable of knowing.

(*ii*) In pointing out the true method of knowing the mobile Reality of which our life or self is only a point or mode, he tells us that it is by intuition, and not by intellect, that we are able to penetrate and grasp the essential nature of that reality ; "that the consciousness we have of our self in its continual flux introduces us to the interior of a reality, on the model of which we must represent other realities." We have already examined this position and found that Prof. Bergson has virtually made two contradictory assertions in this connexion. But, still, the reasons for which he has made them should be more fully examined. The reasons are these : Intellect works with solid perceptions and stable conceptions ; it starts from the immobile and tries to explain and express the mobile in terms of the immobile; hence its failure to penetrate and grasp the mobile which is the real. Our life or self is mobile, *i.e.*, a continual flux in so far as it is real and this is the reason why our intellect cannot know the interior or essence of it ; or, in other words, the method of intellect is analysis, *i.e.*, dissection of a living whole into its dead elements whereas the method of intuition is to grasp the whole as it really is. All solid perceptions and stable conceptions are dead elements, results of analysis of the living whole, and are, so far, detached from the whole, and therefore are abstractions and immobilities. Thus, intellect proceeds from the whole, not to the parts, but to the elements or units which are disjoined and therefore dead ; and by such dead and detached elements it, then, tries to build up the living whole; but the whole, thus built up, is only a semblance of the real whole: hence its failure to reach the reality.

If such description of the nature of intellect is exhaustive and true, it must be admitted that it is impossible for intellect to reach the reality. Kant also condemned the pure understanding or reason for similar reasons and confined it to the sphere of the phenomenal after labelling it with absolute incapability for reaching the real. Like Prof. Bergson who brings the reality back through intuition, Kant also brought it back through moral reason or faith. We all know the fate of Kantianism, and we are now going to scrutinise the fate of Bergsonianism.

We must, at the outset, ask this question: Does or does not intellect know its fate, *i.e.*, its absolute inability for reaching the real? If the answer be in the negative, we must further ask: How do we then know its fate? Do we know it by intuition? It cannot certainly be so: for, Prof. Bergson positively and distinctly tells us that by intuition we know only the real, the continual flux which is a living extraordinary whole; but the inability of intellect is no such reality, nor even a part of it but only an abstract element—a stable conception—formed by intellect itself. The answer must, therefore, be that we know it by intellect, that our intellect forms and knows its own fate. Such being the case, a further question suggests itself: If intellect knows its own fate, can that intellect be limited by that fate? Can a thing which knows its limit also be wholly limited? The answer must be in the negative. Thus we find that intellect contains a universal element by virtue of which it can transcend any limit which it is supposed to put to itself, and is not, therefore, *merely* limited, that is, incapable of knowing and reaching the real.

No doubt, intellect makes use of "solid perceptions" and "stable conceptions" as its materials and starting-points but the question is: Whence does it get them? It cannot be said that it forms them out of nothing; in that case they will be mere illusions. Prof. Bergson does not say that they are illusions ; he positively tells us that "it is clear that fixed concepts may be extracted by our thought from mobile reality," but what he denies is that they are means of reconstructing the mobility of the real. Now, if intellect (or thought) is capable of extracting these fixed concepts from the mobile reality, it is also capable of penetrating and grasping it, for, without such penetration and grasp it cannot extract those concepts from it. This fact, again, proves that the mobile reality is beyond the reach of intellect.

It must now be admitted that intellect is capable of penetrating reality and of analysing it into its elements ; it must also be admitted that these elements, taken by themselves, are abstract and stable and that by the aggregation of such abstract and stable elements no living whole can be reconstructed, for, the concrete is always more than the abstract, the unstable is always more than the stable, and no aggregate of the latter can reach the former. So far Prof. Bergson is quite right. But he has missed another and a rather more important function of intellect. It is undoubtedly true that intellect, in so far as it is discursive, makes use of and works with "given" materials, *i.e.*, "solid perceptions" and "stable conceptions," which it extracts from the real, and so far it adopts the method of analysis; but it has also a synthetic function by which it unites the elements thus extracted into a whole. He admits such a synthetic function, but contends that by it intellect is unable to reconstruct the real, inasmuch as the elements are abstract and stable, while the reality is concrete and unstable. But it is curious that he tells us, on the one hand, that intellect is able to extract those elements from the real, and, on the other, that it cannot reconstruct the real by them.

This is, undoubtedly, equivalent to the saying that intellect can penetrate and break up the real into fragments, but, yet, it cannot rebuild it by them. Here a question suggests itself : Are not those fragments—the "solid perceptions" and the "stable conceptions"—fragments of the real? Prof. Bergson replies in the negative. Why not? Because the fragments are abstract and stable, whereas the reality is concrete and unstable. But this is no answer; for, he admits that those abstract and stable fragments are extracted from the real, and are, therefore themselves real. Of course, if the process of such extraction were itself unreal or illusory, the extracted elements would be also unreal or illusory. But he does not say so. He repeatedly affirms that intellect is capable of penetrating reality and of extracting from it those fragments. Thus, the so-called "solid perceptions" and "stable conceptions" are real fragments of reality. In another place he tells us that they are not parts, but only elements of the real whole; by this he means that parts are inseparable from the real whole, and are, thus, its real constitutive elements; whereas the abstract elements are separated from the real whole and conceived as such, and therefore are not its real constituents: for this reason parts can be known by intuition, and the abstract elements by intellect. But this explanation of the distinction between the parts and the abstract elements seems to be preposterous. No doubt, parts are inseparable from the real whole, otherwise they cannot be its parts, but are not the so-called abstract elements also parts of the real whole? If not so, how can they be extracted from the real whole? It may be that when those extracted elements are considered by themselves they become abstract and stable, and when in relation to the real whole they become concrete and flexible, they may be called the real parts or constituents. But these are only points of view from which we can consider those elements, and it passes our comprehension why one point of view should be regarded as that of intuition, and the other as that of intellect, so long as we know that intuition is only a form of intellect, as distinguished from feeling, or from intuition as understood by the intuitionists. The truth is, intellect, when it works in the form of intuition, knows and grasps the reality in its vague and imperfect outline, and then proceeds to analyse it into its constituent elements in order to know and grasp it more fully and in its greater details, and finally combines them, again, into the real whole with greater and fuller knowledge about it. Thus, intuition, analysis and synthesis are three stages of the functioning of intellect. It is true that in the beginning and at the lower stages the results of the intellectual functioning are more or less imperfect, and, therefore, more or less abstract ; but its nisus is always towards the greater, richer and fuller grasp of the real. This is the nature of all human intellect ; although itself a universal principle, it has to work through the human limitations, and this is the reason why the results arrived at by its activities appear, especially at the lower stages of its progress, to be more or less abstract and one-sided. This point will be more fully developed in the following paragraph.

(*iii*) In his "Creative Evolution" Prof. Bergson has explained the genesis of intellect more fully (*vide*, pp. 196-204). Here we are not directly concerned with examining thoroughly the process by which he has tried to explain the genesis of intellect ; what we are directly concerned with is the ultimate question, namely, Can intellect have a genesis at all? Is it self-explicable or capable of being explained by something other than itself ? Bergson seems to understand the difficulty arising out of the answer in the negative, and has, therefore, tried to extricate himself out of it by appealing to practical action. He admits that if we try to transcend intellect in any way we can do so only by intellect itself ; that is to say, we cannot transcend it at all. But he tells us that though theoretically it is impossible to transcend intellect, yet, practically we do and can do so. All habits are instances in point. Intellect is confined to the given, but all habits that we acquire are new. In all habits we pass from the given to the new, *i.e.*, what is not given. Here we transcend intellect by means of action. He explains it by an example : Swimming will seem theoretically impossible to a man who has never seen any other man to swim, but it will be practically possible for him when he throws himself into water and by repeated struggling becomes able to adapt himself to it ; thus action enables us to acquire a new thing which intellect thinks impossible ; what is thought impossible by intellect is made possible by action. Therefore, he advises us to "thrust intelligence outside itself by an act of will," in order that we may break the solid and stable circle of thought and pass on to something new beyond it.

This is the gist of Bergson's whole argument, but it involves the same vicious circle which he has tried his utmost to break. The first question which suggests itself is : How do you know that the solid circle which thought builds up is and can be broken by action? How can you know that you can pass from the given to the new by means of action? Do you not know all these by intellect ? Is not action guided and determined in its direction by intellect ? Take the instance of swimming itself. Is it not guided by intellect at every stage? A habit is, no doubt, a new thing, but we should not forget that it is built up out of old and given elements : habit is nothing but a mental disposition to think, feel or act in a particular way, and this disposition is the result of a set of voluntary activities guided and performed by intellect. No doubt, a habit may seem impossible to one who has never seen it acquired by any man, but this is a psychological impossibility, not a metaphysical one. There is no reason in the whole world to suppose that, because something has never been seen by a man, it is really impossible. In old times people could not believe the existence of antipodes, and even thought it impossible ; even at the present time numerous people do not believe and cannot think that the earth revolves round the sun, and not the sun round the earth. But these beliefs and thoughts did not prove the impossibility of the existence of the antipodes nor do they prove the impossibility of the revolution of the earth round the sun. Therefore, the mere fact that a man thinks something to be impossible does not prove its real impossibility.

In the second place, how can we " thrust intelligence outside itself by an act of will "? Is that possible? Is it not true that when we thrust it outside itself, if that is possible, intelligence knows that it is so thrust out and thus passes to its "outside" and thereby includes the so-called "outside" within its province? In fact, is there, and can there be, any "outside" to intelligence? If your answer be in the affirmative, our rejoinder will be, how do you know such an "outside"? Do you not know it by your intelligence? So that intelligence, which knows its own "outside," cannot have it, because to have it, it must put a limit to itself, and as soon as it puts the limit, it transcends it. Therefore, intelligence, having no "outside," cannot be " thrust outside itself by an act of will."

Again, how can we "thrust intelligence outside itself by an act of will?" Is not an act of will guided and determined in its direction by intelligence? and if so, is not intelligence itself the real agent that thrusts itself outside itself through an act of will? This admission implies that intelligence possesses the power of transcending itself—it contains a universal principle by virtue of which it can thrust itself outside itself. Or, in other words, intelligence is itself a universal principle which can transcend all limits that can arbitrarily be put to it.

The main reason for which Prof. Bergson expounds such an astounding theory is that intellect or reason is wholly confined to the region of the "given," and cannot, therefore, pass to that of the "new." Here he puts another arbitrary limit to intellect or reason, and we can apply the same sort of argument here also to prove that intellect or reason cannot have and does not allow any such limit. The intellect, which knows that it has such limit, forthwith transcends that limit and passes over to what lies beyond the limit, *i. e.*, to the new. We have already discussed this point and proved satisfactorily that intellect or reason is not merely discursive, *i. e.*, does not work only with the given, but is also creative, *i. e.*, creates materials for its work.

In so far as Prof. Bergson's explanation of the genesis of intellect is concerned, we can apply exactly the same arguments as we have applied to Paulsen's view that unconscious will is the primary and constitutive element of the soul-life, and intellect is the secondary product or evolution. But, still, we should notice the admission which Prof. Bergson makes in this connexion. He tells us that intellect has been formed from the mobile reality by a process similar to that by which a nucleus is formed from a fluid, and that though intellect has thus detached itself from the wider reality, it, still, retains to a certain extent the nature of that reality, so that there has never been a clean cut between the two. This admission shows that there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between the reality and intellect—they gradually shade off into each other: so that, intellect is the condensed or specialised form of reality, and reality is the rarefied or universalised form of intellect. Or, in other words, reality is the universal intellect, not exclusively confined to any particular thing, while intellect is the specialised or differentiated reality confined to a particular thing, namely, the "given." Here by intellect is meant the human intellect. Consequently, his admission proves that the human intellect is a specialised form of the universal intellect, which is the reality, and, therefore, has no limit or genesis as ordinarily understood. We thus come to the same conclusion as we did above, namely, that the ultimate mobile reality is an *intelligent will*. Can we assert also that it is a *self-conscious will* ? Prof. Bergson maintains that the ultimate reality is a unity-in-variety —the whole reality is present in each of its states or parts, as each state or part is present in the whole. The essential characteristic of self-consciousness is also a unity-in-variety, and there is nothing else which possesses this characteristic. We may, therefore, assert that the ultimate mobile reality, as understood by Prof. Bergson, is really a self-conscious will. And human personality being a specialised mode of that reality must also have that characteristic.

We have fully considered above two views which disparage intellect and deny to it the prerogative of forming the essential characteristic of personality. We are now to consider other views which do not disparage intellect in the same sense and in the same way, but, yet deny that it forms the essence of personality.

Prof. Eucken maintains that self-consciousness, which is another name for "being-for-self," is the primary and constitutive element of personality, but he holds that the essence of self-consciousness is not mere awareness of a unity-in-variety, but *self-activity* ; and self-activity which is not directed upon a world is as meaningless as a cause which produces no effect. Prof. Eucken's view with regard to the essence of personality clearly shows the voluntaristic trend of his mind, and his repugnance for intellectualism. For him the essence of self-consciousness is not the consciousness or cognition of the self as related to the not-self—of a unity-in-multiplicity, but *action* or *deed*. No doubt, action or deed also is, for him, a unity-in-variety—the unity of subject and object—of the self and the not-self—of the mind and the world, but such a unity exists within the self understood not as an *intellectual* principle, but as an *active* one—as a will ; hence, although the self realises itself by a process of dialectic, yet, this dialectic is "not of a logical necessity, but of freedom;" action itself, for its own development and completion, evolves the opposition between the subject and the object, and then overcomes it. Thus, while Hegel would describe the development and realisation of the self as a process of *intellectual* dialectic, Eucken would describe it as a *dialectic process of freedom*, or simply as the *dialectic of will*. It is evident, therefore, that while the intellectualists regard intellect, he regards will, as the essence of personality or self-hood.

Now, this suggests a question : Is will wholly different from intellect, or are they interrelated functions of one and the same self ? This is a fundamental problem of modern Psychology which tells us that intellect and will are not two wholly separated faculties of mind, as the old psychologists supposed, but are thoroughly interrelated and inter-dependent functions of it, so that they cannot exist and operate independently of one another ; will, which is not guided and determined in its direction by intellect is no will at all, but a blind impulse ; and intellect, which is wholly inactive—which does not contain any element of will—is no intellect at all.

Every idea, as Prof. Royce says, is active and tends to realise itself, and he lays a special stress "upon the unity of the intellectual and the voluntary processes which, in popular treatises, are too often sundered, and treated as if one of them could go on without the other." (*Outlines of Psychology*, p. viii.) Moreover, Prof. Eucken himself tells us that "work (which is another name for action) is purposeful action, action inspired by an ideal, action directed to an end." If so, is not action guided and determined in its direction by intellect, having regard to the fact that it is intellect which forms the conception of an ideal, or of an end ? Thus, action and intellect are interdependent and inseparable. The truth is that intellect is an *active principle*, and not a bare consciousness or cognition, as is ordinarily supposed. Therefore, it is immaterial whether we say that intellect or action is the essence of personality or selfhood.

In the second place, we may raise the same objection as we have done before to the regarding of intellect as something subordinate, and incapable of forming the essence of the self. For such a view puts a limit to intellect when it affirms that intellect is not an essential element of the self. How do we know that it is so ? Is it not by intellect that we know that ? Is it not by intellect that we, thus, transcend intellect ? Thus, we find that even when we try to transcend intellect we still move within intellect—we find it impossible to transcend it altogether. In fact, intellect, which knows itself wholly incapable of being the essence of the self, is wholly incapable also of knowing what that essence is—of knowing that action is that essence, inasmuch as to know the latter fact it must transcend itself and pass on to something else which is absolutely opposite to itself and beyond itself. It may, of course, be said that knowing and being are two entirely different things; we may know something, for instance, the pen I am writing with, without being that thing. But that is a mistake; we cannot know a thing which is entirely different from and outside us. It is a popular prejudice that the thing we know is entirely different from and outside ourselves. But, if that were really so, we could not know it, think of it and make any assertion about it. The truth is, the thing is outside of our body, not of our thought or intellect; our thought or intellect is essentially a universal principle working and realising itself under our limitations, and thus appearing to be limited. Thus, action, which is supposed by Prof. Eucken to be something entirely different from and outside the intellect, is really intellectual in nature, or it is an active manifestation of intellect.

Dr. James Martineau defines personality as consisting "in voluntary agency as free cause," or in the power of free preferential choice between different alternatives or possibilities. (*Vide Study of Religion*, Vol. II, p. 181.) The justifiability or non-justifiability of such a definition entirely rests on the meaning we assign to the terms "will" and "freedom." If by "will" is meant an independent faculty of mind, not necessarily connected with its other independent faculty called "intellect," then we can flatly deny its existence. Modern psychology vehemently condemns such a mechanical division of mind, which is an organic structure. If we regard will and intellect as two distinct but interrelated functions or employments of mind, as they really are, then it is immaterial whether we express the characteristic of personality in terms of intellect or of will. Again, if by "freedom" is meant an absolute or unconditioned power of will by virtue of which it can choose irrespectively of character and motive, then we are justified in denying its reality, inasmuch as it is inconsistent with the true nature of will or voluntary action. If, on the other hand, by freedom is meant "self-determination," determination of action by the self in accordance with the law of its own inherent nature,—if, in other words, it means "the inherent effort of mind, considered as a 'world,' in the direction of unity and self-completeness, *i.e.*, individuality," then it is a necessary implication of personality or selfhood. So that, it is quite indifferent whether we define personality in terms of intellect (self-consciousness), or of will, if we understand their true significance. Dr. Martineau's mistake lies in his use of the terms "will" and "freedom" in the wrong sense. (These points have been fully considered by Prof. T. H. Green in his *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Bk. II, Chaps. I and II, and also by the author in his *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, Bk. II, Chap. II).

In recent times Prof. Josiah Royce also has adopted the voluntarist view of the nature of the self. With Prof. Royce the essence of personality or selfhood is will, not intellect. But to understand him fully it is necessary to understand his view with regard to the nature of intellect and its relation to will. In a passage in his Psychology, he distinctly says that intellect and will are two interrelated functions of the self, and are thus inseparable. He has expounded the same view more emphatically in the first volume of "The World and the Individual." From this it is evident that every idea is, for Prof. Royce, an embodiment of will, and every act of will is an idea. This clearly shows that for him, intellect is an *intelligent will*, and will is an *active intellect*, and that the self, which forms an idea of an external object, also fulfils its own special purpose in and through the idea, so that no idea can exist apart from its purpose, as no purpose can exist apart from its idea. Idea and purpose, intellect and will, are thus, two distinct but interrelated functions of the self. Therefore, when we understand him in this way, it is quite immaterial for him whether we say that intellect or will is the essence of selfhood or personality.

Dr. Bosanquet is not quite willing to express the essence of personality in terms of will. (*Vide The Principle of Individuality and Value*, pp. 288-89.) It is true that will has a negative side—it implies dissatisfaction and contradiction. But that is not less true of self-consciousness ; there are disharmony and contradiction also between the ego and the non-ego, between the element of unity and the element of multiplicity. But will, like intellect, has also a positive side—it is a positive effort to remove the contradiction—to actualise the ideal. It is also true that all conation is not harmonious with the ultimate nature of the self, *i.e.*, does not realise that nature. But it is not less true of intellect. As there are errors in conation, so there are errors in cognition. Dr. Bosanquet himself is very fond of expressing the ultimate nature of the self as "an active form of the whole," striving after unity aud completeness. And this manner of expression evidently evinces that the self is a self-conscious will striving after unity and completeness. As we have shown before, there is no essential distinction between intellect and will. Spinoza is very emphatic on the point. "There is in the mind," says he, "no volition save that which an idea as idea involves." (Ethics, ii, 49.) Again, "will and understanding are one and the same......A particular volition and a particular idea are one and the same." (*Ibid*, cor. and dem.) "Spinoza would thus seem to reduce the whole content of man's spiritual life to thought or intelligence and its modifications ; and though he treats of other elements which pertain to the active in contradistinction from the intellectual part of man's nature—of an impulse or endeavour in the mind to persist in its own being, of pleasure and pain, desire and aversion, and of particular emotions in elaborate detail to which this impulse gives birth—yet when we examine the real significance of his teaching, these seemingly non-intellectual elements, it has been held, lose their independence, and resolve themselves into one all-absorbing principle of the theoretical intelligence. As "the essence of the mind consists of adequate and inadequate

Ideas'' so the self-maintaining impulse is nothing more than the self-affirmation by the mind of its own power of thinking. Will itself is only another name for this impulse, ''when referred solely to the mind.'' (J. Caird, *Spinoza*, pp. 243-44.)

By this long discussion with regard to the voluntarists' view about the essential characteristic of selfhood or personality, it has been made sufficiently clear that will understood only as something intelligent can constitute such an essence. Intellect, truly understood, is an active principle striving after its own perfect unity and completion, and consequently contains an element of will ; while will is an intelligent principle fulfilling and embodying itself in and through ideas.

A. K. MAJUMDAR

LORD LISTER AND THE RENAISSANCE OF SURGERY

The overwhelming magnitude of Lister's discovery and the rare nobility of his life make a dual appeal at once fascinating and inspiring. Only by studying what is accomplished in the span of one great life is it possible to realize how far and how fast we have travelled. Medicine, having sprung from magic, nourished in its swaddling clothes on empiricism, finally took its deep and permanent roots in science. And it is to the pioneer like Lister, who unfalteringly helped it creep inch by inch through the maze of ignorance and superstition, that we owe our everlasting debt.

The large number of healthy people to-day, the large number of old people to-day, are living monuments to the discovery of Joseph Lister. By his principles of antiseptic surgery he has saved more lives than all the conquerors of the world ever destroyed. Yet history always honours the destroyers of lives, seldom pays tribute to the saviours of mankind.

What is it that has made the name of Lister a household word throughout the civilized world and why do all nations and all creeds unite this year to honour his memory? Where was surgery before the days of Lister? Before him and his illustrious colleague, Pasteur, with whom his name will ever be affectionately associated, was gross darkness. Plague, pestilence and famine were rampant upon the earth. It is true that surgery had been robbed of most of its pain and thereby received its first great impetus by the discovery of other anæsthesia in 1842 by Crawford W. Long, of Georgia, of whom America should be justly proud, and of choloroform anæsthesia in 1847 by Sir James Simpson of Edinburgh, but on account of the ravages of infection few surgeons cared to submit their patients to surgical operations.

"With the introduction of anæsthesia, the grim spectre, known as hospital gangrene, loomed larger than ever." A picture, ever vivid in my mind, was painted by my father, whose recital of his medical student days during the pre-Listerian period, depicted the deplorable conditions prevailing then in the hospitals. The wards were a pitiable sight, filled with patients with flushed faces, parched lips, suffering from septic fever and often in delirium. Even the odour of gangrene, which pervaded the entire institution, was trying to all who ministered to those suffering from infections. How was this infection and gangrene, which was daily taking such a large toll in death, to be combated?

This problem was in the minds of all surgeons at this time, when Louis Pasteur, of France, often spoken of as "the most perfect man who has ever entered the Kingdom of Science," appeared on the scene. In 1857 he read his epochal paper on lactic acid fermentation and on alcoholic fermentation in which he laid the foundation of biological chemistry and proved that spontaneous generation did not exist, as had been believed up to that time, but that these fermentations were actually due to living organisms.

Lister was the first to recognize and appreciate the paramount significance of Pasteur's discovery of microbic activities and its direct application to surgery. Applying the theories of germ life, enunciated by this great chemist, to the principles of surgery, Lister established antiseptic principles in operations and in the treatment of wounds which was to revolutionize the science of surgery and make "possible the present proud perfection of this most brilliant of all the arts." Lister "saw the practical importance of the discoveries of Pasteur," as pointed out by Sir Clifford Allbutt, "because he was watching on the heights, and he was watching there alone."

From this day on the dramatic episodes in surgery have captivated the imagination and aroused admiration and wonder by their successful victories in the battle against infection. The romance of surgery is so fascinating and at the same time so logical that no thinking person can fail to see at a glance the great benefits that have come from it—benefits more priceless than all the precious jewels of the world. Before the days of antiseptic surgery, for example, amputations of limbs carried a mortality rate of 65 per cent. compared with 4·5 per cent. to-day. Having served in three European wars I realize what this means to the wounded soldiers and to the nations at war. When we reflect that the eminent French surgeon, Larry, Chief-Surgeon to the Grand Army of Napoleon, is reputed to have performed in a single day one hundred and twenty-five amputations, and at this ratio eighty-one soldiers must have died of shock or subsequently of gangrene, and that to-day by applying Lister's antiseptic methods we are able to save most of our cases, we humbly acknowledge our profound indebtedness.

Further, largely by the application of the discoveries of Pasteur and Lister the average span of life since the middle ages has almost trebled. When one attempts to compute what this lengthened life means in economic value to all the peoples of the earth the figures become astronomical. In this age when the standard of success is so often measured by money it is wealth. But they have done much more than this—they have been the two-fold instrument of bestowing upon the world its greatest happiness. Their two names will be for ever joined as two monumental columns supporting the grandest and noblest arch of triumph ever erected. They were, indeed, the most undaunted "explorers of the mysteries of life" and the greatest benefactors of suffering humanity, and with them began in truth "man's redemption of man."

Thus, we see, that the Renaissance of surgery began with Lister's epoch-making studies in antisepsis, and that the last fifty years have seen more advancement in surgery—in fact in all the branches of medicine—than in all the preceding centuries. Nor must we forget it has all come within "the memory of living man." Progress is seen in the ever decreasing mortality rate following operations and the ever increasing and widening domain of surgery. "From the head downward there is scarcely any part of the body that has not been successfully subjected to surgery." Even the heart is no exception and now is recorded a successful effort to cut the narrowed valves within it in order to allow the blood to flow more freely and thus prolong life. As William Haggard has said, "although the heart is only one inch from the surface of the body twenty centuries of surgery rolled by before the scalpel could successfully travel that inch." We of this generation are living in a golden age of scientific progress and have profited much by the pioneer work of these masters.

Lister's life was not always serene. "A dark shadow in the scientific life is often thrown by a spirit of jealousy." Carping criticism is always to be expected from some contemporaries. And a discovery, so comprehensive in conception, so overwhelming in possibilities and so upsetting to those chronically crying in the wilderness, is almost certain to be received by them with disfavour. In fact, his discovery was recognized last by the country that gave him birth.

As the evening shadows were lengthening, it all finally came—recognition, world-wide fame and honours in abundance, his cup being filled to overflowing—but I wonder how much it then meant to him. Recognition in life, like love, has its psychological moments—dew comes only in the morn, hawthorne only in May. Whatever pangs of regret his heart may have felt, the serenity of his classical and noble face to the end never revealed. The final triumphant event of his career was the baronetcy from the Crown, a royal recognition from his nation. When he died in 1912, at the age of 85, space was offered for his body to rest in Westminster Abbey among the immortals. But as it was his wish to lie beside his wife, his body was carried to Hemstead Cemetery, followed by the wreaths of kings and the representatives of the world's learned societies.

In this strenuous and high-powered era it is restful and ennobling to return and meditate and worship at the shrine of an old master. Reviewing Lister's life we are deeply impressed with the influence of heredity. His home environment was one of dignity, self-restraint, love of science and devotion to duty and no arrow ever went straighter in its course than did this gifted son when he left his parental roof. We readily agree with Lesson that "transcendent as were his epoch-making discoveries the man was more than the message."

If we consider further Lister the man, we at once see three reasons why he became great. He showed his wisdom first in the choice of his parents, a father of tireless tenacity of purpose who was a companion of his son, and a mother embodying an abundance of gentleness, patience and sympathy; second in the choice of his teachers, particularly Dr. Syme, Professor of Surgery of Edinburgh, of whom it was said, "he never wasted a word, a drop of ink or a drop of blood," and who by his originality, precept and example stimulated his young pupil; and third in the choice of his wife, the daughter of his preceptor, who lovingly aided him in his scientific research, unfalteringly sustained him amid great opposition and at times violent vituperation, and constantly during their long life together, inspired him to this great achievement.

When in England, I talked with many men who knew Lister; and without exception, they spoke of his gentleness and forbearance, his humility and determination, his ingenuity and supreme conscientiousness. Aside from his discovery he was a distinguished operating surgeon—dexterous and conservative. In fact, the brilliance of his works in other departments of surgery would of themselves have made him famous if the vast and universal importance of his great discovery had not overshadowed them. His personality radiated something that drew men to him. His friends admired him, his patients adored him and his servants worshipped him. "His gifts of heart and head were in equal measure." Like Pasteur he was essentially a religious man and a happy one.

It is altogether fitting, therefore, on the centenary of the birth of Lord Lister, the founder of modern surgery, that we pay tribute to his memory and give thanks for his beneficent endowment for the cure of disease, the relief of suffering and prolongation of life. Our generation will not be known in history for the height of its sky-scrapers, the rapidity of its trains or vastness of its wealth, but rather for what we did to relieve those in distress. "The greatest legacies of any nation is the memory of a great name and the inheritance of a great example." As the late Sir William Osler has well said "in the continual remembrance of a glorious past individuals as well as nations find their noblest inspiration."

Monuments have been erected all over the world to the memory of this great surgeon but none more enduring than the memorial to be found in the hearts of a grateful people.

EDGAR L. GILCREEST

THE SENSE OF THE INCOMPLETE[1]

The poet has sung, "Man never is but always to be blest." There is no finality to our sense of satisfaction if we take life as a whole. If the ascetic is schooling himself to a life of contentment in respect of material wants which ever torment his worldly minded fellow beings, his own aspiration after spiritual perfection never reaches a stage where he says to himself 'I have enough of goodness and want no more.' Similarly, the scholar has never enough of learning nor the miser of money. Each of us has his or her special field in which satiety is viewed with disfavour and in which we set our pretensions so high that our success never equals them and never produces a contented self-feeling. In such chosen fields, whether of art or of vocation, we press forward towards greater and greater perfection and feel uncomfortable if anything obstructs the realisation of our purpose or thwarts our progress.

Now, as Spinoza, Spencer and Stout have pointed out, all consciousness of progress is attended with pleasure and all sense of obstruction is accompanied by pain. To be able to realise ends is to feel one's powers and to enjoy the pleasure arising therefrom. Thus at the bottom of all strivings there operates a conscious or unconscious will to power or a desire to dominate the external world or the world of our fellow-men. To cease to feel the urge of strife is to stagnate and to degenerate and to succumb to the forces, material and social, that envisage us all around, while the converse process of strife is, as Heraclitus said, the father of all things.

But strife that never succeeds has a demoralising effect and has a tendency to produce, in all but the most irrepressible spirits, a habit of introversion or a process of regression to the past. All arrest and fixation arise out of frustrated efforts—a failure to adjust or orient oneself to the present situation or to complete the normal course of development. The mind, failing to make progress towards completion at a higher level, seeks completion on a lower plane and thus remains satisfied with what would be normally regarded as an incomplete state of being, and thus the wheel of life, instead of rolling forward, begins to revolve at a fixed position. This circular movement of mind, returning constantly upon itself, frustrates the impulse of life to push the mind onward to higher activities and occupations. Automatism and routine creep into conduct and, instead of conserving mental energy, increase the friction of life and bring about rapid waste. Nothing that is progressive by nature can be made to halt or go back without increasing the heat of friction and spelling ultimate disaster. It is far less risky to shunt the moving life on into new tracks when straight progress is anyhow retarded and that is what sublimation tries to achieve.

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[1] Read before the Psychology Section of the Indian Science Congress, Calcutta, 1928,

We see, therefore, that the working off of imperfection, far from being pathological, is a normal and sane method of mental hygiene. All attempts to formulate and complete plans and to improve upon past achievements are signs of mental vigour and normal development. The divine discontent that marks the normal life of the spirit has always been the cherished possession of man, for it is only thus that the finite mind transcends its own limitations and feels its kinship with the infinite and in this way avoids settling down complacently into an indolent satisfaction with its present lot. If finitude and perfection are, as Leibnitz pointed out, irreconcilable in their nature, there will never come a time when all activity towards a better state will completely cease.

If, therefore, we have to refer to the sense of the incomplete as an occasional abnormality, we must not be understood as alluding to this inherent tendency of the human mind to be satisfied with nothing less than perfection itself in the chosen field of activity. To aspire after a completer state of being is the sign not of abnormality but of health. But it loses its significance when the complete is an artificial creation of the mind and it becomes pathological when the so-called state of completion is really not more valuable than the incomplete state but is vested with a false dignity by individual conviction or social superstition. The subject posits an end-state to be realised or appreciated and feels miserable when the fancied perfection eludes his grasp. This anomalous mentality turns up in many fields of thought and action and has probably a multifarious etiology.

Treating the subject in its broader aspects, we may conveniently discuss the three principal forms in which, it seems, the sense of the incomplete manifests itself. Harmony, periodicity and continuity are the three completions that the human mind generally aspires after, and any deficiency in each of them begets a sense of incompleteness which may function normally or abnormally according to circumstances. Thus, in any given situation, the subject may feel that there is something aesthetically lacking and this incongruity or want of harmony or of completeness begets unpleasant feeling. Or, the subject may feel that the given situation fails to complete a particular cycle upon which he has set his heart, whether by outside compulsion or by social convention or by subjective habit. Or, lastly, he may feel that the given situation is jerky in its character or progress and fails to satisfy the sense of smoothness and continuity. In addition to these relatively incomplete forms, there is an absolute incompleteness from which the finite as finite is never free and which is at the basis of all curiosity and progress.

As illustration of the first variety, that is, of situations where our aesthetic sense is offended, we may refer in the first instance to all cases of art where the lack of balance or proportion or normal end arrests attention and produces a characteristic feeling of incompleteness. An unfinished building, a half-drawn painting, a half-shaven face, a squint eye, a lame gait, an ill-matched pair, whether of men or of animals, and such unsymmetrical objects produce a veritable annoyance to artistic minds. Others, again, are vexed at a cretinous growth, a half-quoted passage, a story with an abrupt end, a photo or statue only of the bust, a service dispensed with in the middle of a month, and such incomplete situations. Persons with an artistic temper of the former kind revel not in the mass-effect of heterogeneous ingredients but in the symmetry of homogeneous units. Their drawing room must contain two objects of the same kind, one on each side, to maintain symmetry, their garden must have parallel rows of identical types of plants ; and their house must be symmetrically balanced in architectural design. In their writings they are fond of a balanced style where substantives, adjectives and verbs are in perfect equipoise (and they will read aloud their own compositions to ensure that there is nothing unsymmetrical) ; in their dramatic art they are upholders of poetic justice according to which evil must meet with corresponding evil and unmerited suffering must be balanced by ultimate happiness. A bachelor or a maid is an unfinished inaesthetic being ; a widower or a widow is like a piece of symmetrical art now broken ; and a family with a preponderance of boys or girls is a decidedly lop-sided organisation. Balance of power, league of nations, communal representation and such symmetrical political organisations are the most pleasing arrangements in the relations of nations and parties.

Where the tendency is towards the second type, *i. e.*, towards a rounding off of the scheme of things, the sense of the incomplete attaches itself to all truncated arrangements. That things should taper to a point, as in a church-spire, is what pleases the fancy of such tempers most. A house with a dome or turret, a Burmese pagoda, a Nepalese temple or a Gothic church, each with a pointed top, a head-dress ending in a helmet-like point, a peaked beard, a family organisation headed by a *pater familias*, a state governed by a monarch, a world originating in a First Cause, a monocentric and monophyletic origin of the animate world and such conical structures in reality and thought give great delight, and deviation therefrom causes a sense of deficiency. A drama with a central figure appeals as a work of supreme art ; a hill that does not end in a pointed peak is a disappointment ; imperialism is the political creed and autocracy the most satisfactory form of government ; unitarianism is the theological standpoint ; monism the philosophical position ; and parsimony the law of thought.

It is not our purpose to trace the etiology of the aesthetic impulse. It is fairly certain that it is partially due to unconscious instincts and desires even though a large portion may be due to personal habit and social convention. In its aspect of personal neatness it has been traced to certain irregularities of the excretory system (notably, constipation) ; but it is not suggested that a single origin is sufficient to explain the varieties of aesthetic inclination. Symmetry is stamped on man's entire frame (and, in fact, on the face of animal creation taken as a whole) and his love of it in external nature is a kind of projected narcism from which he is seldom free. Bilateral symmetry, mixed with radial symmetry and balanced arrangement, is also evident in the world of plants and engenders a kind of aesthetic taste by sheer frequency. The tapering tendency is specially prominent, in connection with the vegetable world where the conifers attain it in a most obtrusive manner and the growing stem reveals it in varying degrees.

A richer crop of cases can, however, be reaped in connection with the second variety of the incomplete-sense. Periodicity is writ large on the face of nature, and both body and mind fall in with the rhythm that characterises nature as a whole. Activity and rest, waking and sleep, rise and fall, growth and decay mark the rhythm of creation at large, the systole and diastole that renovate nature by their alternation and keep it going at an even pace. The mind attunes itself to the measured tread of events, towards which the rhythmic activities of the body also predispose it unconsciously to a great extent. Correspondingly, the sense of the complete demands that there should be regular pauses in events and that things should move in cycles as much as possible. Irregularity and indefiniteness are alike distasteful to the mind : there is a shock of disappointment at the first and sense of weariness at the second—a weariness so aptly described by Wordsworth in the line "Me this unchartered freedom tires."

A very simple reference will show the nature of the mentality we are talking of. We have in external nature the rhythmic cycle of years, seasons and lunar months and of days when heralded by the regular rise of the sun. But convenience and impatience have alike prompted man to punctuate the continuous flow of time by artificial halting stages with the help of subjective rhythms. He has divided and subdivided time into artificial units like calendar months, weeks, hours, minutes and seconds in order to be able to feel a sense of completion more often than nature would vouchsafe. The fixity of an end-state lends definiteness to thought and endeavour, and braces the mind to energetic action by its promise of a definite termination. The same psychology prompts the division of space into artificial units—not simply because properties and states have to be demarcated by metes and bounds but also because an unending vista is positively fatiguing to the mind. How eagerly does the wayfarer look forward to the recurrent milepost in the never-ending path of his journey ! Set a man on the Sisyphean task of weaving a cloth that is never to have an end and see what effect the blank prospect of eternal toil has upon his mind. Notice the difference when he knows that the lapse of a fixed time or the completion of a set length will terminate his labours. Thus, while infinite progress may be the guiding principle of all endeavour, that progress must be marked by definite periods or the tedium of infinity will be intolerable.

Even philosophical speculation has been infected by a dissatisfaction with the unilinear direction of the world's progress and occasionally obliged to import the succession of birth and death. As evidences may be pointed out the cyclical evolution and dissolution of the world in Herbert Spencer's system; the eternal return of the Stoic and Nietzschean world-schemes, the ascending and descending moral progress in the Jaina system, the periodic creation and dissolution of the world in Indian religious speculations.

It is clear, therefore, that periodicity has a fascinating effect, whether that is due to convenience, convention or mere conation. And now see how it affects everyday conduct in the field of number. There is a tendency in many minds to prefer a round number, not simply because it facilitates memory or helps calculation but also because fancy has set its heart upon it and enhanced its importance. How many commodities are priced at exact £'s and Rs. or else their aliquot parts? When in the calculation a ten enters, things are almost invariably adjusted thereto even though prices might have been raised or lowered without affecting the profit or the sale. The commonest prices for books and many other articles are 2*s.* 6*d.*, 5*s.*, 10*s.*, 12*s.* 6*d.* ; very frequently the producer or seller has no idea that these prices are convenient for calculation because in their sums they yield complete pounds oftener than other figures. Unless the question of exchange is involved or the seller desires to create an impression of scrupulous honesty no article will bear such a price as 18*s.* 7*d.* or 13 *as.* 9*p.* : to the purchaser as well as to the seller such a price would look queer, for their minds have been attuned to round numbers and exact wholes.

No wonder, therefore, that, next to such mystic numbers as 3 and 7 and their multiples, superstition has gathered in generous measure round numbers that are supposed to close a period of thought. One such number is 4 together with many of its multiples. Probably based on an association with the quarters of space; its appeal in secular and spiritual literature alike is very widespread. Just remember how many things of diverse types are counted by this round number—not only coins and commodities of the market, but also the dervishes in the fable that tell their tales, the horsemen of the apocalypse, the legitimate wives of a follower of the Prophet of Arabia, the ages of the world, the gospels of the New Testament, the cardinal virtues, the primary Hindu castes and the kinds of playing cards. It is likely that it is the unconscious sense of the incomplete that prompted the Hindus to canonise the fourth collection of hymns, the Atharva Veda, and to raise the number of revealed scriptures from three to four. In Bengal no one will offer without risking enmity three things of any kind as a gift but must raise the number to four; and three Brahmins will never go out together, for some disappointment is bound to come if the number be not raised or lowered.

The close proximity to the mystic number 3 may have had something to do with the importance of 4 as a refuge. In association with the same mystic number it has generated another period of thought round which also a certain amount of superstition has gathered. Not only do eggs and bananas sell by dozens, but the signs of the zodiac, the tribes of Israel, the apostles of Christ, things in Heavenly Jerusalem, the first tables of Roman Laws, the lictors that preceded the Roman consuls, the Brahmins to be fed by a pious Hindu on auspicious and ceremonial occasions, the proper age of a girl's marriage according to Manu, the number of years that a Hindu wife is to await for her husband who has disappeared before taking up widow's weeds must all be counted by the same number, while double that number is necessary for counting the Tirthankaras and Buddhas, the Samkhya material principles and the praharas (three hours equal one prahara) of *kirtan* that bring merit to a devout Vaishnava.

But the number that, without being a mystic number like 3 or 7 (about which many superstitions may be enumerated), has widely afforded a halting place to thought is 10 with its multiples. The Bengalees have a witty saying that the best way to teach thrift to a prodigal is to give him 99 rupees, for the lure of the 100 is sure to be so great that, being so near it, even a prodigal will not have the heart to recede from that complete figure by unnecessary extravagance. What applause greets a batsman when he completes a century of runs! How enthusiastic we become over centenary celebrations! How often do we think of the development of art, science and literature in terms of centuries! The return on your investments and the tax on your income must be calculated as so much per cent. and your salary must increase by hundred or its multiple or aliquot part. Populations and casualties, budgets and blood-corpuscles, the rule of Christ and the saints and the wives and concubines of Solomon [1] must all be counted by round numbers that are multiples of ten, hundred or thousand, and any attempt at strict accuracy would be stigmatised as fastidious. A man is getting old when he is on the wrong side of forty and although the Psalmist limits the span of human life to three-score years and ten, society has made provision for the celebration of your golden wedding at the fiftieth and your diamond wedding at the sixtieth anniversary of your marriage. Inherent convenience, common consent and possible association with the fingers of the two hands have invested 10 with a dignity which is unrivalled by any other number, and the mind takes breath, as it were, when it reaches this figure or any of its multiples before resuming its onward march. The fascination of 10 is attested as much by the ten commandments of the Jews as by the ten purificatory rites of the Hindus, by the decades in terms of which events are compared as by the days whose tales Bocaccio tells in his Decameron, by the Decemvirs that ruled Rome as by December that (in spite of being the twelfth month now) closes the year, by the standard that closes a high school course in India as by the paper-currency of many lands, by the incarnations of Vishnu and the forms of the Mahavidya (Shakti) in Hindu pantheon as by the Pythagorean scheme of the world-system. It is likely that the importance of 5 as a unit of thought is a kind of reflected importance as it happens to be the half of 10 although it may be partially due to the wide prevalence of the number in the plant and animal worlds (Froebel)—in the pentadactylous extremities of animal forms and the pentamerous character of many flowers. But it is doubtful whether it has ever served the purpose of a stage in thought except to weary minds although it and its multiples have played some part in determining the close of a period in popular superstition. Only sickly couples, not sure of living long enough to celebrate their golden wedding, will think of a silver wedding after 25 years of married life.

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[1] An instructive study in the psychology of 10 and its multiples is to be found in I, Kings, IV-XI, where Solomon's reign is described.

But while round numbers have a fascination for ardent spirits, they have also proved a source of awe and embarrassment to the timid. To have touched the complete is a thrilling experience and gives uncomfortable feeling to many minds. Hence the opposite tendency to stop short at the threshold of the complete or else to transcend it. The score by which plantain leaves are sold at Calcutta really contains 19, while a hundred of mangoes in the vicinity really contains 104. A bridegroom's dowry is a rupee more or less than the hundred or its multiple agreed upon, and a pious Indian's charity follows the same procedure. A salute is of 101 guns (or 51, 17, 13 etc.); a landlord will give 99 years' lease and a Hindu's rosary contains 108 beads (possibly 12 × 9 has something to do with the matter). Sheherzadee must tell her wonderful Arabian tales for one thousand and one nights. The offering to a saint or a god must cost a Bengalee a quarter more than a rupee or a quarter more than 5 annas, *i.e.*, Re. 1 4 as. or 5 as. 3 p. Has not a projector a thousand and one schemes in his head and must not a lover protest his love for ever and a day?

But more often it is the period that pleases. A writer will try to compose till the last line of a page and some feel uncomfortable if the fountain of thought dries up in an odd-numbered sheet. A division that leaves a remainder or an answer that contains a fraction is distasteful to some mathematicians. In course of adding up sums the occurrence of an exact ten pleases one; another adjusts daily accounts in such a way that, so far as practicable, whole numbers may occur (even though there is no intention to total the expenses at the end of the month). A gentleman pays his annual subscription for a monthly paper by value-payable post rather than by money-order remittance, because the former costs him an exact whole while the latter leaves a balance of a few annas. A fraction of a rupee in a Bank account or in a private loan causes discomfort to a lady who always insists upon leaving a round number by additional payment or withdrawal. A gentleman pays porters by full annas; another advances his rates in bargaining by full sums; a third makes a useless purchase when the price of articles already bought does not give a round total. It is likely that we owe the system of 500 sheets in a ream of papers to a man who could not stand the idea of giving 480. How many of us prefer to sign our names at the foot of a page and would rather crowd the bottom than turn overleaf for a line or two of composition! How many teachers would begin a new subject when the hour-bell is still five minutes to strike or when the term is drawing to a close, and how many would relegate an almost finished work to the next opportunity and appropriate to themselves the condemnation of Adam Bede: "I hate to see a man's arms drop down as if he was shot, before the clock's fairly struck, just as if he'd never a bit o'pride and delight in 's work"? An undecided game would be given extra time; the president must have a casting vote to bring finality to a discussion; and all fights must be to a finish. Thus in all fields of our thought and action we bid for the complete even though that complete may have in many cases only a fancied superiority over the incomplete.

The third group of persons suffering from a sense of incompleteness comprises those who disfavour gaps and leaps of all kinds. It is the continuous that pleases them most, whether that be the continuity of motion or the smoothness of gradation or the coherence of discourse. They are opposed to all saltatory variations and hiatus in thought and reality and they take as their motto in life 'Nature does not make a leap.' A gentle slope, a wavy outline, a colour or sound gradually fading into indistinctness or passing over into another, a procession of boys or girls arranged in order of their height, an examination result published in order of merit, the transformation of species by continuous variation, a gradually progressive instalment of self-government to a subject nation, a screw-like promotion of subordinates in service, thoughts running on from sentence to sentence and from paragraph to paragraph and words joined on to words in handwriting are the types of things that they contemplate with delight. Halting remarks, jerky notes, treatment of a subject by the enumeration of points, classification of subjects without any graded arrangement, change of government by revolution, mutation of species, geological changes by cataclysms and movement of thought and things by stages are all anathema to them. One gentleman cannot cash his cheque without asking for some coins of every description from ten-rupee notes to one-anna pieces; another keeps letter papers of every size from foolscap sheets to tiny tablets; a lady keeps clothes of varying prices from the costliest to the most ordinary; a writer keeps pens with nibs of different degrees of fineness in the point: all of these must possess things that can feed the craze for continuity. A finely graded family of children, from a stalwart youth to a twaddling babe, gives aesthetic delight and the birth of twins or a gap caused by death produces a sense of aesthetic discord. One gentleman cannot pen through a wrong word and write the correct one in another place but must either erase it or write the correct word in heavy lines over the wrong word at the risk of illegibility simply because he cannot stand the idea of breaking the continuity of the line. Another gentleman cannot, without a momentary feeling of unpleasantness, break a word at the end of a line or a page and will sometimes use an inferior substitute to avoid having a disjointed word at the end. Some gentlemen have a genuine aversion for signing their names by initials and must affix their names in full to every paper. One gentleman cannot read a work of fiction or see a cinema film by instalments but must have the entire work before him or the entire serial exhibited at once.

It is not possible to enumerate exhaustively the multitudinous forms in which the sense of the incomplete manifests itself nor to separate its different varieties into watertight compartments. Many notable omissions will leap to the mind of an observant and well-informed reader and some I can supply myself even now. Some correspondents cannot write an address without putting in the name of the addressee and all his titles in full. Some authors will put in all their degrees and their productions on the title page of their work. The minutest details of an address will be inserted by a person who suffers from an anxiety neurosis (and sometimes the address will be written many times over on the envelope) to ensure proper delivery. A half-tumblerful of water will displease one person while another would be unable to resist the temptation of reading through every page of a book he has been asked to skim through. One may be seized with a sudden mania to touch every lamp-post or to lop off the top of every bush in a hedge or to strike every perpendicular piece in a railing or fencing and may even go back a few steps to correct an omission. A morbid grief may invade one accustomed to regular attendance or regular exercise or periodic fasting if any lapse occurs for any reason whatsoever. There is generated in all such cases an aching void which is positively distasteful to those whom the complete alone pleases.

It would be risky to formulate a single etiology for all these manifestations of a mania for completion. There is no doubt that some of the causative factors are ingrained in our bodily and mental constitution: but a good deal is also correlated with aesthetic temper which finds only in balance, unity, periodicity or continuity its proper gratification. It is also likely that a constant hankering after fulness in one field is a substitute-gratification for incompleteness in another and that a person suffering from the inferiority complex[1] will also be an ardent pursuer of ideal perfection. Convenience also enters into our pursuit of round numbers and convention may also set the fashion in some matters. But whatever be the origin, the mentality is quite widespread among all classes of people and provides materials on which a comparative study of social beliefs and personal trends can be based.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

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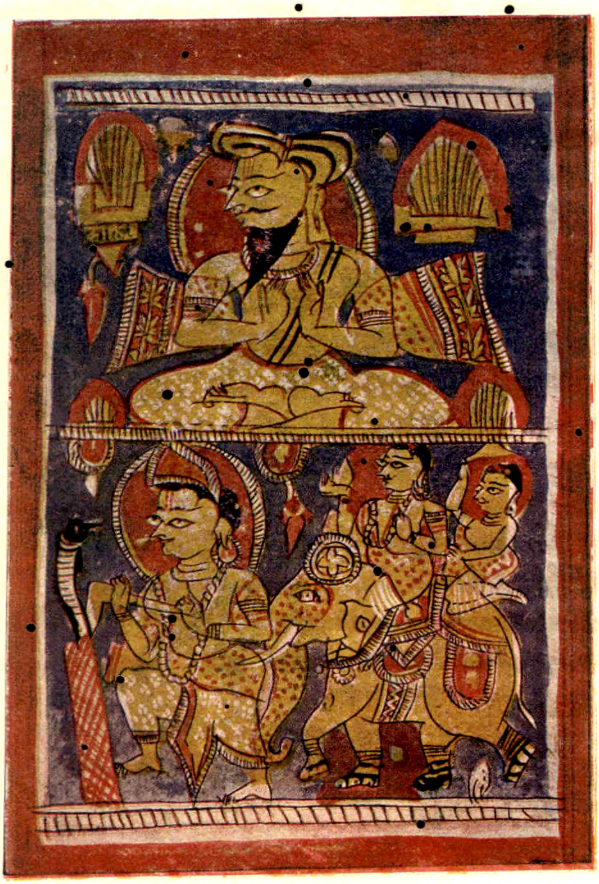
[1] See the present writer's paper on 'Inferiority Complex' in the *Catcutta Review* of January, 1927.

From Kalpa Sutra MS.



LIFE OF PARSHVA NATH

(Pre-Mahomedan Period)

THE GARDENER OF HEART

To Godless world's of charming make,
The Godful love it for His sake.

Despondency.[1]

My garden's ruin'd—How hard I find
My customers to please:
All beauty's faded from my flowers—
Some bud-rot, some stalk-crease.

Hope.

My gardener man of heart descends
And living water to dead earth lends.

Rejoicing.[1]

Now wonder wakes in flowery bloom,
Admiring joy-shouts know no end,
And joy awakens every hair
By touch of breeze from flowery blend.
The flower that was on topmost branch
My hands can touch and get,
The maddened black bee comes along.
I bath and food forget.

Finale.

He is near,
Out go care,
Snapt its snare!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

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[1] From "Vidyā Sundar" in song.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON JAIN MANUSCRIPT MINIATURES

No attempt has been made to offer in these few lines any systematised explanation on the subject of Jain book-illustration or to deal at all critically with the differences or the subtle links of connection between the different Schools of Indian Art. I simply wish as a lay observer to place before the readers some interesting points on this most fascinating subject.

Of the ancient canonical scriptures of the Jains, the "Kalpa Sutra" is held in the highest estimation among the Swetambars. It is the Book of books, the Sacred Word, the Veda of the Jains. It consists of three parts : the first deals with the lives of the Tirthankars. After detailing in an elaborate manner the various facts and important events of the life of Lord Mahavira, it briefly narrates the life of Lord Parsvanath, the twenty-third Tirthankar and then summarises one by one the lives of the other twenty-two Tirthankars. The second section of the work is devoted to "Sthavirabali Charita" or the lives of Jain Sadhus from the Nirvana of Lord Mahavira to the time of Devardhi Gani about the Vikram Era 980 when the redaction of the Jaina Siddhanta took place according to the Swetambars. The last portion lays down "Samachari" or rules of conduct for Sadhus or Jain monks.

It is quite natural, therefore, that this great work, at once so important and so universally revered among the Swetambars, has roused the attention of many through successive generations. And actually we find that no pains were spared in the preparation of manuscripts of this sacred text and we come across many beautiful copies of the work in different Jain Bhandars all over India. The two coloured plates printed in this issue of the *Review* are taken from different manuscripts from the rich collection of my father who has been able to secur several very finely illustrated manuscripts of this work in course of his extensive travels. Both represent the same subject, a scene from the life of Parsvanath. Although, unfortunately, the manuscripts are not dated, they show nevertheless in an unmistakable manner that they were written at different periods.

The first painting is in typically early Jain style, the features showing the usual sharp hooked nose and long drawn eyes. There is yet no trace of any influence of Mughal art.

The second one which is largely dominated by the influence of Muhammadan Art strikes an altogether different note. The transition from an old established style is almost complete. The change is apparent not only in the outward modes and customs, such as dress, ornament, etc., but the viewpoint, the motif of the artist as well, has undergone a complete metamorphosis. The first painting strikes a simple harmonious note. Seeming to lose their separate identity all the figures weave round a central legend. Technically this result is achieved partly by the uniform method of colouring. And the blue background beautifully conveys the idea of open air space. The whole scene is drawn after the perfect manner of early myth-maker—ssimple and suggestive yet powerful.

The second painting is more realistic. In the first one, the axe is held in the hands of one of the attendants, its point merely touching the piece of wood whence a snake is seen issuing. In the second one, the attendant is represented in the very act of cutting open the wood, and formally, correct to legend, two snakes are painted as coming out of the hewn piece of wood. There is also a world of difference in the method of colouring and the attitude of the artist in his handling of the subject.

The figures seem to jostle and glare, throwing into insignificance the entire surrounding. One misses that subtle sense of delicacy which is replaced by a spirit of boldness and defiance.

A comparative study of such miniatures is not only intensely engrossing but is full of immense possibilities in helping to rediscover many missing links of our art-history.

A study of the change of manners and customs as evident from differences in head-dress, wearing apparel, ornament, drapery, etc., is of great interest to the student of social history while the method of colouring, the treatment of details, the postures in which the figures are presented, all these are factors of great significance in any reconstruction of the cultural and artistic development of past times. And my object in these brief observations is to draw the attention of scholars to this hitherto neglected field of work, that is, a critical study of old Jain miniatures as essential in dealing with the problems of social and cultural life of ancient India.

P. S. NAHAR

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL CRISIS

The Portuguese Press complains bitterly, that propaganda is being carried on, in foreign countries, with the object of discrediting Portugal, to-day, the third colonial power in the world ; and finds it impossible to conceal its indignation. It is, clearly, a difficult task to meet the criticisms that have been levelled abroad against the Portuguese colonial rule. The criticisms have, however, called forth scathing comments.

Portugal was the herald of modern civilisation—the struggle between men and forces of nature, which finds expression in the *Lusiads*, where Camoes seeks to fashion the glory of Portugal in the highest development of character.

> " The nobler Lusian's stouter breast sing I,
> Whom Mars and Neptune dared not disobey."
>
> Canto I, 3. Translation by Richard F. Burton.

Obsessed by dreams of expansion and conquest, the Portuguese were, of course, convinced that they were a chosen people. Their chroniclers, like some modern journalists, presented the case for their imperialism and urged the plea that God was on their particular side. But to-day, by a tragic irony of fate, the gauntlet is thrown down by aggressive Imperialistic Powers, to Portugal, to be taken up, or left lying on the ground.

The future of the Portuguese Colonies was the point to which the thoughts of British and German statesmen were turned before the Great War. " Portugal, we learn," wrote the well-known British journalist Dr. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review*, " perpetuates a kind of slavery in her over-sea possessions and Germany would gladly introduce and maintain order there, based on Christian principles. Portugal is a little State, poor in money and men, and incapable of governing the natives and exploiting the wealth of the countries over which she still holds sway. Nor is it only of her African possessions that these melancholy statements hold good. Her territories in India and China, are also like the talents of the Gospel parables which lay unprofitably hidden. They produce nothing to the world's welfare, they make no contribution. This lamentable state of stagnation can and should be changed between Great Britain and Germany, and a suitable arrangement on the subject of this change, would, we are told, bring the two nations together as nothing else could. Indeed, the well-known Dr. Karl Peters writing in the 'Tag' states that England's assent to the expansion of Germany at the cost of Portugal, is almost a condition *sine qua non* of an understanding. And he wishes to know whether any diplomatic document exists which binds us to safeguard the interests of Portugal, because he explains, if we are so bound, Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin and all the diplomatic conversations that followed are but a mockery and a snare.[1]" These words need no comment. There is hardly a sentence in the above passage which does not carry with it a suggestion of the kind most mischievous. "The weak and the botched must perish: that is the first-principle of our humanity. And they should be helped to perish. I am writing for the lords of the earth." These were the utterances of Nietzsche the prophet of the mailed fist. None can say they are not true, thought a cynic, in what we call a time of peace.

The distinguished British journalist quoted above, was the apologist of the Portuguese Revolution of 1910. He gave courage to the revolutionary leaders. He was present—if we mistake not—at the birth of the Portuguese Republic.

The internal disorders which, for the last seventeen years, have kept unhappy Portugal divided, render her so easy a prey to foreign ambitions. Unfortunately, to the average turbulent Republican politician the world-political aspect of the Portuguese crisis is, of course, not intelligible without a well developed political sense.

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[1] The Contemporary Review, June, 1912.

But even the worm will turn. Recently, Portugal replying to the League of Nations' recommendation of its "Draft Convention on Slavery," refused to be a party to accepting "a proposal which is obviously designed as far as concerns native labour, to apply to the Portuguese Colonies the system of colonial mandates to which the former German Colonies are subject." The superiority assumed by certain members of the League was deeply resented by Portugal. "Efforts have very rightly been made to abolish all kinds of slavery everywhere," said Portugal, "but it has frequently been forgotten that race prejudices place their victims in a far worse moral position than forced labour can do. It is cruel and inhuman to teach a man and raise him through education to a higher level, if possible, than that of most other men, if afterwards he is always, and at times, to be ostracised and perhaps subjected to every sort of humiliation. It is for this reason that Portuguese law and customs have established equality, in practice, among all who are born under the same flag, no matter where it flies. This policy has enabled Portugal to keep her Colonies with the support of their natives, and has spared her such insurrections as we hear of from every other quarter." These suggestive words—we may incidentally remark—were reproduced by a Calcutta weekly.

Thus, Portugal was thrown on her own resources, in the midst of the ambitions of those casting covetous eyes upon her African possessions. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that, not long ago, the delegate from Norway to the League of Nations criticised, rather strongly, the secret activity of the Council members within the Council. He protested against the concentration of all authority at the League of Nations, into the usurping hands of the Great Powers.

The Portuguese African possessions were once possessions where convicts alone were disembarked and left to uphold the dominion of Portugal—a state of affairs that continued till the year when the harbours of Portuguese East Africa were declared open to national and foreign trade. But once African mines or dividends from African stocks contributed to create much speculation in Europe, concerning Africa, Portugal opened her eyes to a fact she had hitherto ignored, that she could no longer regard her vast African dominions as places of immediate profits to be gathered out of ivory and slave gangs; and she outlined a policy consistent with the laws of colonial government. There rose, fortunately, to the occasion, the Marquis de Sa de Bandeira, the Wilberforce of Portugal, whose untiring efforts in the cause of humanity, resulted in Portugal signing the treaty of 1842 by which Portugal secured the co-operation of England to put down the slave traffic in Africa. As a matter of fact, the decree of December, 1836, had abolished the slave traffic in all the Portuguese dominions. But slavery, as we pointed out elsewhere, was not yet destroyed. In 1854 a decree ordered the registration of all slaves. Another decree issued in 1858, announced that twenty years henceforth, slavery was to cease in all the dominions of the Crown; but the very next year, a decree ordered the immediate abolition of slavery, and, for that purpose, the 27th April, 1877, was fixed as the day for the decree to be enforced. A renewed vigour made itself felt in this anti-slavery campaign, and in 1875 a law was passed by which slavery, in no matter what form, was abolished in all the Portuguese dominions. Thus, was laid the foundation of a colonial policy that could no longer be identified with a policy of material rather than moral force.

This policy, however, was the beginning of what modern Portuguese writers call the Portuguese tragedy.

To unite Angola to Mohambique, and thus connect the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, was an important part of the colonial programme to be carried out. To secure the formation of a continuous belt of empire, was a project which had been entertained for a long time. A Portuguese explorer, after a stay at Abyssinia, where he had determined the course of the Blue Nile, entered ardently into the scheme. But when he sought help, in 1520, at the hands of King Manoel I, he discovered Africa had no attraction for the Portuguese King. Again, in 1648, another Portuguese explorer was willing to brave the perils of African exploration to cross the Continent. But a malign influence appears again to have repressed in the Portuguese explorer, his adventurous spirit. In 1798, the scientific journey of Lacerda, however, raised Portugal from its torpor. It imparted to the nation a new and invigorating life. The Portuguese explorer, who started from Mozambique and travelled up to Cazembe, where he, unfortunately died, predicted in 1796, that the "new possessors" of Table Bay, "require careful watching or our want of energy will enable them to extend themselves northwards," a prediction which needless to say, was verified to the letter. "The journey of Lacerda," wrote the British explorer Burton, "shows that the Portuguese never abandoned the idea of a *viagem a contracosta,*" and they can hardly characterize their claims to having crossed Africa as 'hanging on a slender fibre;'[1] and posterity can duly appreciate the Portuguese explorer's influence on succeeding times. The real crossing of the Continent, however, was not accomplished till the natives of Pombeiros under the guidance of the Portuguese Governor Antonio Saldanha de Gama, and the Portuguese Colonel Honorato Costa, who had set out from Angola, passed through the territories of Muata, Hienvo, the Cazembe and reached the river Zambesi, between the years 1802 and 1811. Another successful attempt was made in the years 1838-1848, by Major Francisco Coimbra to cross the territories lying between Mozambique and Benguela. With the same object, Silva Porto, who had before Livingstone explored the Zambesi, and visited the Nyassa Lake, crossed from Benguela to the mouth of the river Rovunna, the explorer having spent a year and two months on his journey. "The political necessity of concealing discovery, and perhaps something of official incuriousness belonging to tropical climates," wrote Burton, "have hidden many of the Portuguese discoveries from the world, and thus in this nineteenth century, we have carried off part of a glory due to them. Dr. Livingstone's prodigious labours on the upper Zambesi, and about the Nyassa and Shirwa Lakes, and in the country of Cazembe, may well 'obscure the glory of each foreign brave.' " "But it is too much. to assert," said Burton, "that his predecessors ignored the course of the Zambesi, the Shire and the Nyassa Lake which under the name of Zaflan (1623) was known centuries ago. The early Portuguese voyages, indeed, determined theories, in vogue in the nineteenth century, regarding the hydrographical system of Africa.

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[1] Captain Burton, "Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798" published by the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1873.

New explorers, however, were not slow in appearing. They were Capelo, Ivens and Serpa Pinto. But their successes in Africa provoked some irritation. Thus, to Portugal's misfortune the Portuguese attempt at expansion, was frustrated by the British ultimatum of 1890. The explorer Lacerda had predicted, in 1796, the creation of a great British dominion in South Africa. And, strange to say, the British interests had clashed with those of Portugal ; and there arose a dispute over boundaries in Manicaland and Shire Highlands—a dispute which caused a painful effect on the wellwishers of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. But during the South African War, when England had scarcely a friend in Europe, Portugal forgot her old grievances, and rendered every support she could, to her ancient and powerful ally. The passing of British troops through her neutral territory in Africa raised of course, a protest from the Continental Press in Europe. Portugal was thought to have assumed undesired responsibilities. That, however, is a thing of the past. But to-day, the South African Union demands that the administration of the Portuguese Port and Railways of Lourenco-Marques, be entrusted to a Committee consisting of five members, one for each province of the Union, and a representative of Mozambique—a proposal which Portugal rightly thought was a palpable menace to Portuguese expansion, perhaps even to Portuguese independence.

It may be mentioned, by the way, that there was an attempt to deprive Portugal of Delagoa Bay—to-day the only door to South Africa, not in the possession of Great Britain. England claimed the southern part of Delagoa Bay, and based her claim on a treaty concluded by Captain Owen with an African king. But the contending parties having submitted their claims to the President of the French Republic, Portugal secured the complete possession of Delagoa Bay as the result of MacMahon's judgment of July, 1875. As a matter of fact, a treaty signed between Great Britain and Portugal, had fixed the boundaries in East Africa, of the two nations, which President MacMahon interpreted as defining the British and Portuguese spheres. Thus were confirmed the historic rights of Portugal over Delagoa Bay. Again, Cecil Rhodes, who was to play so great a part in South Africa, was anxious to make Delagoa Bay British. Portugal, however, survived the bargaining for her property in Africa. "Delagoa Bay would be British to-day but for the fears of revolution twenty-five years ago," wrote the London *Saturday Review* when the Republic was proclaimed in Portugal. "Cecil Rhodes and Lord Rothschild had carried negotiations for purchase to a point where confirmation and signatures only were wanted. At the last moment, the scheme was abandoned as the direct result of the action of the British Foreign Office. Pressure was brought to bear on England, not to allow the purchase, because it was believed it would mean a revolution in Portugal, which would set alight all the revolutionary forces in Europe. That the story is true we know from Sir Thomas Fuller who had it direct from the Foreign Office. A good many people in South Africa think if the purchase had taken place, it would have averted the Boer War."

Right at the beginning of the Portuguese Republic, when the Portuguese papers were overwhelmed with speculation as to what the Republic will or will not do with regard to the German occupation of fortresses in Angola, we wrote in the London *New Age* : "England, it is true, is the natural ally of Portugal. Her interests are wrapped up not only in the prosperity of her ancient ally, but in a most special degree in the revival and welfare of Portugal. Unhappily, however, as far as Portuguese interests in Africa are concerned the Anglo-Portuguese alliance is no safeguard against the dangers threatening Portugal. The Portuguese cannot reckon England as a friend and Germany as an enemy, and act as if there could be any favour for friendship or enmity in African affairs. England and Germany are great colonial powers. They both equally play parts assigned to them by their national interests. Moreover, the present relations of modern states are fortuitous, arbitrary or changeable at will." [1]

"In spite of polemics, caused by the Germans installing themselves on the various parts of the African coast, in spite even of diplomatic intervention which prevented Great Britain from ratifying her Congolese treaty with Portugal, there was a systematic effort of Wilhelmstrasse to preserve cordial relations with Downing Street. On June 14th, 1890, an Anglo-German treaty was signed acknowledging Great Britain's supremacy over the basin of the Nile. A second treaty, on November 15th, 1893, marked a fresh English success by stipulating that the German Cameroons should not extend eastward beyond the basis of the Chari, and that the Darfour, Kordofand, and Bahr-el-Gazal regions should be excluded from the German sphere of influence. *Even the Emperor William's telegram to Mr. Kruger provoked only a temporary storm and did not hinder the conclusion of a secret treaty, which in 1898 in conditions but little known, disposed of the future of Portuguese colonies.*" [2]

Believing that greater advantage could be gained from the expansion of commerce and industry by private initiative, Bismarck, says a German writer, had only favoured the formation of chartered companies, "in order to avoid the assumption of political control with colonisation;" and it is but fair to add that from the days of "The Great Elector," in whose mind originated the idea of German settlement in Africa, Germany did nothing that could give just cause of offence to any other power. A great change, however, was visible in the modern colonial policy of Germany. As a colonial power Germany assumed an air of moral superiority over the smaller powers. "In Africa alone," declared Prof. Delbruck, "we see possibilities worth cultivating." "I am thinking," said the German publicist, "of what seems to me the inevitable collapse of Portuguese power in Africa and a division of the Republic's possessions there, between England and Germany."

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[1] Portugal Next," II, *The New Age*, December 19, 1912.

[2] Andre Pardieu, " La France et les Alliances," Paris, 1919.

But since Portugal—monarchical and republican—gave freely of its best blood in the Great War. Portugal fought on the battle-fields of France, side by side with England, to free the world from the shadow of a new Empire.

This is roughly speaking the lesson of history. May the lesson of the past be Portugal's abiding inspiration.

But unfortunately the Portuguese have short memories. The eloquent speeches at the meetings held, some time ago, at the Lisbon Geographical Society—meetings, which it was stated, were for initiating a new era in colonial history, were full of the heroic past. This morbid contemplation of the past, unfortunately, has stood in the way of a true and healthy national life. Besides, Portuguese republicanism, and its attendant vulgarity, furnishes no conditions under which the colonial problem must necessarily be solved.

"*Dans un récent ouvrage consacré à son pays, Braganca Cunha constate qu'au cours des huit derniers siècles, le Portugal n'a pas traversé moins de six crises particulièrement graves, plus graves même que la perte de ses colonies,*" wrote Angel Marvaud, concluding his well-known work "Le Portugal et ses Colonies." "*Chaque fois, sauf la dernière,—ecrit notre auteur—la nation sortit de la crise à force d'energie et parce* *qu'elle obeissait a un ideal. Aujourd' hui, la situation matérielle du pays est moins précaire qu'elle ne l'etait à la fin des cinq crises précédentes; mais ou est le ideal. La plupart des Portugais cultivés vous diront leur hesitations sur ce point.*"[1] The unwelcome warning of the French writer, however, was not lost on the Portuguese Republic. The distinguished writer has since been made a Portuguese Knight Commander.

V. DE BRAGANCA CUNHA

KINSHIP

(*A Fragment*)

Say, was my Soul thy playmate ere 'twas born,
Into this hell of hate and strife and scorn?—
Why else would he in joy and sorrow turn,
To catch thy smile or frown, thy wishes learn?
Why else should he long, O! for presence thine
Thy company, to drink with thee life's wine?
Why else could he, oppressed and tired, flee
To thee for balm, Eternal Mystery?—
Thou art the Word: what letters spell the Word?
I'm one of these Letters, from thy Word, I've heard!

CYRIL MODAK

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[1] Angel Marvaud, "Le Portugal et ses Colonies," (Bibliotheque d'Histoire Contemporaine) Paris, 1912.

RECOVERY AND CONSOLIDATION OF INDIAN POWER IN INDIA

During my student life, on various occasions, I heard eminent western scholars expound the theory that Great Britain acquired India just by accident. To these scholars, the East India Company was purely a commercial adventure and this honourable company of British businessmen and politicians had to undertake political responsibility in India, which was thrust upon them and solely for the good of the people.

Recently when I was in Geneva and attended some of the sessions of the Institute of International Relations, an eminent Swiss scholar, connected with the League of Nations and devoting his energies for the welfare of the so-called "backward peoples" and for the promotion of World Peace through better understanding among nations, informed me that the present situation in India is not an international question, but purely Great Britain's business and the people of India should use their energies to secure redress of their grievances from the British Government. On another occasion, a high official of the League of Nations, a British professor, supplemented the above idea and asserted that "Britain is not keeping India under subjection by using force."

Fortunately, some Indian scholars are at work to remove certain misconceptions so cleverly spread all over the world, and even in India (through Indian schools and text-books full of distorted facts, half-truths and falsehoods on Indian history). A true estimate of the policy and activities of the East India Company, has been presented in a five-volume documented work *The Rise of the Christian Power in India*"[1] which must be classed as an indipensable reference book on Indian history. During the last three centuries, how India has influenced World Politics, has been critically but concisely presented in *India in World Politics.*[1] I have recently pointed out that India holds the key to the new balance of power and in the existing Anglo-Russian rivalry, without Indian support, Great Britain is at a great disadvantage in defending herself in Asia.[2]

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[1] The Rise of the Christian Power in India, Vols. 1-5, by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired), Director of the Panini Office, Allahabad (India), and published by R. Chatterjee, *The Modern Review* Office, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, India.

The history of India from the Battle of Plassy (1757) to the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 shows that the East India Company followed the policy of ruthless conquest by wars, in which Indian soldiers were used to fight against the Indians, for the promotion of British interests. The outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny convinced British statesmen that, if they were to continue British supremacy in India, it would be imperative that they should adopt a new policy. (1) The abolition of the rule of East India Company and introduction of direct control of India by the British Government, (2) preservation of the "Native States of India," (3) encouragement to the work of Christianising India, (4) re-organisation of the Indian Army, (5) denial of self-government and political authority to the people of India, (6) striking terror by various means, including enforcement of "Lawless Laws," (7) utilisation of Indian resources to strengthen British economic and industrial power and at an economic loss for India and (8) application of the general policy of "divide and rule," were the principal methods adopted by British statesmen to consolidate British Power in India. These points have been elaborated with documentary evidence in the work *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India.*[3]

After the suppression of the Mutiny, the policy was adopted that there would be no indiscriminate annexation of territory belonging to Indian Princes. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India, in a letter to Queen Victoria, made it clear that instead of antagonising Indian Princes, it would be better for the British Government to enlist their support, for preservation of British rule.[1] The policy of utilising Indian Princes against Indian national aspirations, is being carried out with great care. However, the British Indian Government has made it an established practice to dethrone an Indian Prince who may be regarded as hostile to British interests.[2]

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[1] India in World Politics by Taraknath Das, Ph.D., published by B. W. Huebsch & Co., New York.

[2] The articles on Anglo-Russian Rivalry and India, published in recent issues of the *Calcutta Review*, Calcutta, India.

[3] Consolidation of the Christian Power in India by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired), published by R. Chatterjee, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, India.

To disarm a nation is the best means of keeping it under subjection. This policy was practised in Ireland by England; and after the Sepoy Mutiny, not only the Indian people were disarmed and laws were passed which made mere possession of fire-arms criminal, but the Indian Army Re-organization Scheme forbade Indians the right of serving in the artillery,[3] and Indian officers were deprived of all real power and opportunity for achieving distinction and proper military training of high character.[4] Although there is some talk of Indianisation of the Indian Army, even to-day this policy of discrimination against Indians is being carried on with great determination. The British Government in India apparently does not want to carry out the recommendations of the Skeen Commission[5] which has made modest suggestions of establishing a National Military College and selection of larger number of Indian students, without any discrimination of caste, creed or colour, but through competitive examinations, for their training in England to become officers in the Indian Army. Indians are not eligible to join Indian Air Forces in the capacity of pilots or officers.

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[1] Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States, by K. M. Panikkar, published by Martin Hopkinson and Co., London.

[2] Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes, by Taraknath Das, by Ganesh and Co., Madras, India.

[3] Consolidation of the Christian Power in India; by Major B. D. Basu, p. 60.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 72.

[5] Skeen Commission Report; published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, and *The Times* (London), Aug. 23, 1927, p. 9.

Although India is the training ground for British Generals and Field Marshals and Australian and Canadian Officers are being trained for Imperial purposes, yet the Indian people are not trusted with that type of military education which will make them fully able to take charge of Indian National Defence.

India has been exploited for the benefit of the British. An English authority once defined this policy in the following way:

"It is very proper that in England a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages and heroes for the service and defence of the state...but in India, that haughty spirit, independence and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our political power."[1]

We find that the British people, who are so much praised as lovers of human rights and freedom, in all ages, practised the most objectionable methods of persecution to keep people under subjection. We merely mention the treatment accorded to the Irish by the British, during the last seven hundred years. The British did not hesitate to supply arms and ammunition to the Red Indians and use them to wipe out the outposts of the rebellious American colonists. The treatment accorded to the Boer women and children in "concentration camps," and the policy of starving the civil population of Germany, through blockade, during the World War are only a few instances of British practices.

It was the people of the Punjab, particularly the Sikhs, who aided the British in suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny. But the British officers thought it would be the wisest thing to strike terror in the hearts of the people of the Punjab and particularly Indian soldiery, by blowing up, literally, thousands of them from the mouths of cannon.[1] This policy of overawing the people of India was continued in suppressing the Wahabi movement,[2] and in the Amritsar Massacre and the Court Martials and enforcement of "Lawless Laws" by which many persons have been sent to prison without proper trial. In this connection it must not be omitted that the Government of J. Ramsay MacDonald approved of the enactment of "Bengal Ordinance," by the application of which many Bengal political leaders, including members of the Bengal Legislative Council, have been incarcerated without regular trial.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 117.

Just as in Ireland Great Britain followed the policy of *Divide and Rule,* by playing the North against the South, the Protestants against the Catholics, similarly in India the Moslems are being played against the Hindus.[3] Once the Moslems were regarded as dangerous to the security of British rule in India; and after the Sepoy Mutiny, they were looked upon with great suspicion and at times persecuted,[4] and now they are the "favourites" of British rulers in India and are given special preference with the expectation that they will uphold British power in India. It is worthwhile to note the following frank statement of policy of "divide and rule," from British authorities. It is needless to say that this policy is being pursued with great astuteness at the present time.

A British officer, subscribing himself as "Carnaticus," wrote in the *Asiatic Journal* for May, 1821:—

"*Divide et impera* should be the motto for our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military."

Lieutenant-Colonel John Coke, holding the very responsible office of Commandant at Moradabad wrote:—

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. "*Divide et impera*" should be the principle of Indian Government."

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[1] *Ibid,* pp. 94-115, and Edward Thompson's "The Other Side of the Medal," published by Harcourt Brace and Co.

[2] Consolidation of the Christian Power in India, p. 41.

[3] *Ibid,* pp. 34-42.

[4] *Ibid,* pp. 34-42.

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a minute, dated 14th May, 1859, wrote:—

"*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours."[1]

The introduction of the objectional system of communal representation, supposedly to satisfy Moslem Indians, is the latest application of the policy of "divide and rule."[2]

However, by practising the methods mentioned above, can British Power remain paramount and secure in the face of the rising spirit of nationalism in India? At least some of the British statesmen have begun to doubt the wisdom of the policy, and they are advocating that the people of India should enjoy certain amount of human rights within the British Empire.[3] Naturally with the experience of the past,[4] the majority of the Indian people doubt the honesty of professions of British statesmen. However, it is to be hoped that Indian statesmen should not reject any proposal of honourable co-operation, without giving it a trial, and *with the distinct understanding of ultimate recovery and consolidation of Indian Power in India, in place of the present alien, irresponsible and autocratic rule.*

Recovery of national freedom of 325 millions of people of India is a question of first-rate international importance and it concerns all nations and not Great Britain alone. Recovery and consolidation of Indian power in India will be achieved through persistent and systematic efforts on the part of Indian nationalists—not communalists—and through the support of world public opinion, including a section of the British public.

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 74-75.

[2] Hindu and Moslem leaders are equally responsible for the present communal strifes in India.

[3] The British Labour Party has lately taken up the question of introducing a bill in the British Parliament which will embody the future Constitution of a self-governing India. The complete text of the Bill, at the time of writing of the article, is not available. From the comments published in Indian papers, such as *The People* (Lahore, India), it seems that the bill is better than the Government of India Act, now in force.

[4] Queen Victoria's proclamation to the Indian People and Princes was later on openly repudiated by British statesmen such as Lord Curzon, as pronouncements of political expediency.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE ORCHARD

Do you remember
When we met in the orchard
By the broken sandstone wall ?
It was September
And the golden leaves were already
Twirling along the rustic paths.
One lonely rose was blooming
Sweet and red.........remember?
And you plucked it gently
Kissed its lovely face
Threw it to me with mischievous eyes
And ran away!
I caught you by the cherry tree
And held you laughing in my arms
Kissing your hair, your eyes and lips.
I asked you if you loved me
As much as I loved you.
Do you remember?...........
...O, those were merry days
When there was a song in the rose
And a poem in the cherry tree.
Does love mean as much to you now
As it did then?

LELAND J. BERRY

RIGVEDA, THE ONLY TRUE VEDA

With good reason, the Rigveda has been said to be "the only true Veda." Of the *trayi* or the three Vedas mentioned in the *Purusa sukta* of the *Rigveda* (10-90), the *Sámaveda* is there spoken of as appearing simultaneously with the *Rigveda*, and the *Yajus* as following after the metres "*Richah sámáni yagnire, chandánsi yajnire tasmád yajus tasmad ajáyata.*" There can be no doubt that the *Sámaveda* is as old as the *Rigveda*,—for the *Rigveda* from its beginning speaks of the chanting of *sáma* hymns—"*Pra vo mahe mahi namo bharadvamángusyam śavasánaya sáma*" (1-62-2), "sing ye excellent hymns, *sámans*, fit to be chanted (angushyam) to the great, the mighty Lord of the clouds." "*Gáyat sáma nabhanyam*" (1-173-1), "sing sky-resounding *sáma* hymns." "*Udgáteva sakune sáma gáyasi*" (2-43-2), "O bird, thou singest like the chanter of *Sáma* hymns." "*Indráya sáma gáyata Vipráya brihate brihat, dharma Krite Vipaschite panasyave.*" (8-98-1), "(O, chanter) sing a great *sáma* to Indra, the wise, the great, the knower of all, the doer of good works, the worthy to be praised." Indeed the *Sámaveda* seems to be little more than the hymn-book of the Rigvedic age,—consisting of selections "especially from the eighth and ninth books" of the Rigveda, for use at the *soma* sacrifice.

It has also been pointed out with regard to the *Sámaveda-samhitá* that "the textual matter of the *samhitá* consists of somewhat under 1,600 different verses selected from the *Rik-samhitá*, with the exception of seventy-five verses," which either occur in the *Atharvaveda*, or the *Yajurveda*, and may perhaps have formed part of some other recension of the *Rigveda samhitá*, such as that of the *Báshkala* school, other than that of the *Sákala* school, with which we are familiar. Practically therefore the *Sámaveda* may be said to be part of the Rigveda itself as regards its textual matter.

As for the *Yajurveda* which deals with ceremonial observances, such as the sacrifices, the verse portion of it is also mostly taken from the *Rigveda.* But the most remarkable fact about it is that while the *Puruṣa súkta* of the Rigveda speaks of the *yajus* as one,—"*Yajus tasmád ajayata,*" we have to-day two *Yajur-vedas,* the older called black (Kriṣṇa), or *Taittiriya samhitá* of *Tittiri,* and the later called white (Śukla), or *Vájasaneyi samhitá* of *Yájnavalkya.* These two *samhitás* are openly hostile to each other, much like our Hindus and Muslims of to-day, so much so that the priests of the *Taittiriya* or Black *Yajurveda,* called *cha akas* or itinerants, are declared in the *Śukla Yajurveda* which is held more authentic to-day than the other, as victims fit for sacrifice at the *Puruṣamedha Yajna* to the god of evil deeds—"*Duṣkritaya Charakacharyam*" (*Śukla-Yajurveda,* 30-18). Both the Black, and the White not only sanction human sacrifices of all classes including the Bráhmaṇa (30-5), but also prescribe in connection with the *Aśvamedha,* the most repulsive and obscene rites (Śukla Yajurveda, 23-18 to 31), which render both the *samhitás* utterly unworthy of the name of Veda, or "breath of the Great Being"—"*Asya mahato bhutasya nihśvasitam.*" They cannot be presumed to be the *yajus* alluded to in the Rigveda, and cannot properly be called *Veda,* if that word is not to lose all that dignity which always goes with it. It is for this reason that the Gītā condemns the *Veda* generally in the most unmistakable terms (2-42, 46).

The *Atharva-veda,* as is evident from its language, is more modern, and seems chronologically to occupy a place intermediate between the Rigveda and the Bráhmaṇas. It is not considered canonical or authoritative, being excluded from the *Trayi* or triad of the *Vedas,* and is not given a place in the *Puruṣa Súkta.* It has no place in any Vedic sacrifice and stands by itself. The *Atharva-veda* deals largely v and superstitious practices, and mystic rites, callec for giving effect to the malicious designs of mc (*Chátayámahe*, 2-14-2). Out of the 760 hymns of *veda* also, about one-seventh are taken from t For all these reasons the *Atharva-veda* too can hard upon as a canonical *Veda*.

With regard to the Rigveda itself, it shoulc mind that even men like *Śankaráchárya* never had before them, as we have to-day (thanks to the servi by the European scholars), as it is apparent fror imaginary description of it, as "*Sarvagunánvitam* with all good qualities," the cause of subdivision beasts, men, castes and orders (*Varṇáśramádi*)—(Br 1-1-3),—imaginary undoubtedly because Śankara r a single *Rik* giving the *Maṇdala* or *Súkta*, being merely quoting for his authority text of the *Brihad* which the Rigveda is spoken of as the breath of G *mahato bhutasya niśvasitametad yad Rigvedah*." (hand, in the Rigveda itself too, we not only find towa of the Tenth *Maṇdala Súktas* or hymns unworthy pliment of being called the breath of God,—or inspi we find unmistakable proofs of a general deteriorati the close of the age in which the Rigveda appeared. *Riṣi Viśvakarman*, son of *Bhubana*, expresses dee the ignorance and selfishness of the priestly *Riṣis* of saying, "Know ye not Him who created all changed are your hearts! Your vision is blinded as You talk at random! You wander about chanting for the satisfaction of your animal lusts—"*asutrip ścharanti*" (10-82-7). Indeed in the Tenth *Maṇda* an insight into the origin of the system of caste bane of our society to-day in the hymns of the Bráhmaṇa riṣi "*dásyáh putrah Kitava abráhmaṇah* called in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa (2-3-21)—the R

Towards the close of the Rigvedic period, we indeed notice signs of a great Revolution, when the Brahman-born priests offer resistance as great as that of the Pope and his Cardinals to Luther, to the *non-Bráhmaṇa Riṣi Kavaṣa,* for says *Kavaṣa,* when he 'was going to perform the sacrifice for the King *Kuruśravaṇa,* the outcry was raised against him—"the uncontrollable heretic is coming"— "*duhsasuragát,*" and the Riṣi felt frightened like a bird— "*verua veviyatematih.*" But Kavaṣa was not daunted any more than Luther was, and he says: "The Controller of all the worlds directed me, and I cherished in my heart the world-supporter (*puṣánam*), all the Divine manifestations protected me." He did not perform the sacrifice, though probably he was the last of the *non-Bráhmaṇas* to perform such a sacrifice for a king. Says *Kavaṣa* about himself that "as that presiding priest (Riṣi), I asked the king *Kuruṣravaṇa,* son of *Trasadasyu,* the greatest of givers, for rewards for the priests (*vaghatam*)" (10-33-4). The deep malice that the Bráhmaṇa-born priests bore to this non-Bráhmaṇa-born priest is vividly portrayed in the following lines of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Rigveda:—"The Riṣis sat for a sacrifice on the banks of the Sarasvati. They expelled from the *Soma* sacrifice *Kavaṣa,* the son of *Iluśa* because, they said, he was the son of a slave (dásyáh), base-born (Kitava), and non-Bráhmaṇa. How can he be initiated with us? So saying they expelled him far into the open desert, muttering,—let thirst kill him, let him not get water to drink from the Sarasvati" (2-3-21). O what a fall was here! The Rigveda teaches us that all men are descended from one father:—"All people, born from men, worship *Agni* or God manifest in light and heat,— the different races of men, all sprung from *Nahuṣa,* (Noah) worship Agni,—Agni whose sweet voice guides to the path of right, "*Agnir gandharvin pathyam ritasya*" (10-80-6). Our Rigveda teaches that Agni or God is no respecter of persons. "Thee, Preserver of all men, we invoke,—Thee to whom all are equal—*sarvasam samánam*"

(1-127-8).[1] The ideal of "the Father-hood of God and the brother-hood of man"—thus foreshadowed in the original Rigveda, was set aside in the case of the non-Bráhmaṇa sage *Kavaṣa*, and a steel-frame system of caste attempted to be set up in its place.

Furthermore, though it is true that the Riṣi *Agastya* himself in the concluding hymns of the first *Maṇḍala* of the Rigveda (1-191) shows his faith in hypnotism, in the curative effect of the recitation of hymns by the snake-bitten to the manifestations of Divine power in water, herbs and sun, and of prayers to snakes, scorpions, and weasels, for neutralising the poison of snakes and scorpions, that is of a very different character morally and spiritually from the mischief-making and superstitious charms and mystic rites for selfish purposes, and for causing trouble to enemies, such as we meet within some of the closing hymns of the Tenth Maṇḍala,—for example, for a co-wife to secure by means of herbs and charms predominance over her rivals, and to cause trouble to them (10-145), for exorcising the presiding spirit of bad luck and famine by charms and offerings (10-155), for the cure of Phthisis by charms and sacrificial offerings (10-161,163), or for the prevention of abortion by charms (10-162), or of bad dreams by the recitation of verses (10-164). Hymns like these are hardly worthy of the name of *Veda* or inspired writings (niṣvasitam). They seem to lead on to the superstitious practices and mystic rites and charms (*abhichára*) which may be said to be the characteristic feature of the *Atharva-Veda*. All this can leave no doubt that towards the close of the Rigvedic period, we have unmistakable proofs before us of a great fall, and a general deterioration of the age below the level of a true Revelation.

However, it may be said that as a gold mine is never all gold, even so every verse or every hymn in a Revealed Book need not be revealed. True Veda is really not whole books but those verses only that have the silvery ring of Divine inspiration in the writings of the great seers of old, that have come down to us, or as the *Brihadáranyaka Upaniṣad* puts it—"even as when moist fuel is laid for lighting a fire, smoke issues, even so, O dear beloved, of this Great Being it is the breath, what is the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda, Sámaveda, Atharvángirasa*, history, old stories, wisdom, *Upaniṣads*; verses, aphorisms, explanatory sentences and anecdotes,—all these are as His breath (2-4-10). The Viṣṇupuráṇa calls the *Veda* as "one with four legs—"*Vedamekam chátuṣpadam*" (3-4-2). Taking all that we have here placed before the reader, into consideration, we are bound to say that Max Müller is justified in holding that the Rigveda is "the only true Veda".—in the sense that it is the great repository, in a general sense, of the inspired wisdom and enlightenment of the true seers of the Vedic period.

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[1] Compare " *Vyabravit Váyuna martebhyognir Vidvan ritachidhi satyah* " (1-145-5) —"Agni reveals to mortals their duties, for Agni is all-knowing, looks for truth, being himself the True."

DWIJADAS DATTA

MY CREED

The Persian poet rare, Omar Khayyam,
Spent his life in seeking the great "I Am ;"
But found not the true gold without alloy :
His maxim was to live, to love, to joy—
In this brief life which alone is ours ;
To live, to bloom, to die like summer flowers.

Great Socrates when on Truth's very brink,
Was doomed the poison hemlock-cup to drink,
And all his lore and searching was in vain ;
For like a star up-rising o'er his brain,
The great Truth shed one penetrating ray,
Then lost in night and clouds it hied away.

Wise Horace found one creed alone divine—
"*Enjoy the golden present, it is thine*!"
And so brave men and women royal fair,
Have lived and loved upon this creed of air :
To drink the wine of Life, and trust to Fate,
Let death end all, or open wide a gate !

And 'tis as well ; God made us and He knows
Our human frailties, our joys and woes.
This little life, a drop of dew beside
Eternity's illimitable tide !
God is divine, and merciful and just ;
He does not create to destroy—so trust !

For he who holds within His loving Hand
The stars of heaven, and old ocean's sand,
Is the same God who notes the sparrows fall—
Who formed all things, and is the All in All.
So trust in Him, and take life as it comes ;
For *at the end, 'tis He computes all sums.*

There's nothing lost in Universal plan
All was designed for the great good of man ;
All creeds are well enough ; but this I know—
Do good to all, and be to sin a foe ;
Enjoy this life—'tis brief-demand the best ;
Keep pure your heart,—*to God leave all the rest.*

TERESA STRICKLAN

A STRAY THOUGHT

DESPAIR.

I looked at him from my window. He appeared like a shadow in the dusky twilight. His pale cheeks and aimless unsteady gait gave him a wild look. Whither was he going at this hour? Every one was hurrying home after the day's toil. The sun had gone down. I wondered if he had no home. A homeless vagrant verily he seemed. Could he not come and take shelter under my roof? I would be a brother to him and share my cold supper with him. His dejection touched an inner string of my heart and I followed him.

He was trudging along absorbed in his own thoughts. The sound of my footsteps did not disturb him. When I approached him he did not even look at me. I called him but he did not listen. Was he deaf or was he feigning deafness? I summoned up my courage and caught his hand. The man stood before me face to face.

Oh! what a sight it was! Was it a spectre? I could not prevail upon him to speak. He groaned out a few groans which showed that the cup of his misery was full. Silent grief had corroded his heart.

Next morning I heard that a man had died of heart-failure. Heart-failure certainly it was. But did any one care to know what brought about this heart-failure? Does the heart fail without cause?

This human heart is softer than clay,—and harder than adamant. It is one of the most elastic of things I have ever known. Why does it fail then? Passions have sway over it. Feelings sport with it. Incidents leave impressions upon it. It is the perennial fountain of pleasure and pain. Charity enlarges it and faith sustains it; hope buoys it up but despair crushes it. Was despair then the cause of his heart-failure?

I know the place where he is buried. I have stopped there for long hours to see if anything disturbs the mound under which he lies. But it is absolutely lifeless. Clay has mixed with clay. Where are his griefs gone? Airy monsters! unsubstantial horrors! Tears bestrew your path, groans express your exhilaration, desolation announces your triumphal entry and despair trumpets your victory. You are the emissaries of Nemesis and playmates of Death. What have you done with his heart? Are human hearts the only food you live upon? Do they ever satiate your greed? Do you spare nobody? You can take mine out of its imprisoning ribs and chew it to dust. Let reality be nothing and nothing reality.

RASHRANJAN BASU

Reviews

The Indian Constitution—by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I., LL.D. The National Secretary Office, Adyar, Madras, S. 1926.

As a distinguished jurist, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and as a participator in the Imperial Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has had a unique experience of the inner working of the Governmental system of India. He fully utilizes this knowledge and his legal acumen in critically examining the provisions of the Government of India Act. He compares those provisions with those of the Dominion constitutional statutes and points out the various directions in which reform is possible and desirable.

Examining the Preamble to the Act he comes to the conclusion that the expression, " successive stages " cannot possibly exclude the stages of progress already achieved by India up to the moment when the Act of 1919 was passed, and that it would be wholly unwarranted to hold that for the purposes of the realization of Responsible Government, the first stage must be deemed to have commenced with the passing of the Act of 1919. He is of opinion that the residuum of control, both administrative and financial, exercised by the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India, is so enormously large that it is impossible to hold, constitutionally, that the Government of India enjoys any large measure of independence. He refers particularly to the Secretary of State's indirect influence or control exercised through despatches and telegrams exchanged between him and the Government of India. He would welcome the abolition of the Council of India " which is either superfluous or acts as a drag on the progress of India."

Examining recent constitutional developments the learned writer presents his reader with the following paradox—" To maintain the control of the Secretary of State under the present circumstances must appreciably affect the prestige of the Government of India, the respect that it should command and its utility in the eyes of the Legislature. To take away the control of the Secretary of State can only lead to an increase in the irresponsibility and autocracy of the Government of India and, as a result to collisions between it and the Legislature which are bound seriously to affect the working of the machinary."

Dealing with the Indian Legislature, he compares its powers with those of the Dominion Legislatures and shows how the limitations imposed on the powers of the Indian Legislature make it difficult to hold that it is supreme in the same sense in which the Dominion Legislatures are. As regards the local legislatures he points out the desirability of increasing their numerical strength and of widening the franchise and suggests that the power of previous sanction of the Governor-General "which is a relic of the old days of centralisation, and the imposition of checks upon the powers of Local Governments and Local Legislatures, should be done away with."

As regards the Judiciary he thinks that the time has come "when the reservation in favour of members of the Indian Civil Service should be done away with and the High Court should in future, as in England, consist of trained lawyers." He questions the interpretation of the law according to which an Indian Vakil Judge may officiate as Chief Justice, but he cannot be confirmed. Lastly, he declares—"the reorganization of the Bar and the establishment of the Supreme Court in India should be an integral part of any further constitutional development."

We have given above a bare outline of some of the measures of suggested reform put forward by the eminent jurist and scholar. For want of space we have not been able to give a *résumé* of the many niceties of constitutional law discussed by him, *e.g.*, regarding the total refusal of the Ministers' salaries, the powers of relaxation of the Secretary of State's control, the Governor-General's power of certification, and his power to remove the embargo on the Assembly's power to discuss what are called the "protected heads" of expenditure.

We hope, however, that we have sufficiently indicated the scope and importance of the work before us which we consider to be a very opportune publication in view of the forthcoming labours of the Reforms Commission. Compressed within 158 pages we have in this book a masterly criticism of Indian constitutional law by one of India's greatest jurists and statesmen; it should be in the hands of every publicist and student of Indian constitutional development.

Politicus

Sun Yat Sen o vartaman Chin (সান্ ইয়াট্ সেন্ ও বর্ত্তমান চীন)—by Jyotish Kumar Gangopādhyāya—148 pages published by Messrs. Chakravarty, Chatterjee and Co., 15 College Street—price Rs. 1-4-0 (1927).

The author is well read in modern Chinese history and has treated his subject quite dispassionately. He has not much faith in the news on Chinese situation supplied by the newspapers. The book deals not only with the life of Sun Yat Sen but also with most of the problems concerning the evolution of modern China, A short sketch of the ancient history of China is given in the introduction. It is the first book in Bengali on modern China. The book is well written. We recommend it to all who are interested in China.

The author has badly rendered the Chinese names—the real pronunciation of *Sun* in *Sun Yat Sen* is সুন্. The original name is *Sun Wen* (সুন্ ওয়েন্) (p. 6), টাঙ্গ is *T'ang* (থাং) (p. 7), কাবলাই is *Kublai* (কুবলাই), etc. These however may be rectified in the second edition. I should also point out to the author that we have a genuine Sanskrit rendering of the imperial title "son of heavens." It is *Deva-putra* (দেব-পুত্র) used as title by the Kushan kings of Northern India. So instead of introducing a new expression "ঈশ্বর তনয়" (p. 25) it is better to revive the old one which stands as a land-mark of Sino-Indian relation.

P. C. B.

The Co-operative Organization in British India—by B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A., Lecturer in Indian Economics, University of Allahabad. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad. Pp. 321+xiv.

The author rightly looks upon co-operation as "the hope of the poor and the opportunity of the rich" and writes his book with a view to kindle interest in the co-operative movement which alone can solve the multifarious economic problems of Rural India. It is a realistic study of the structure and functions of the diverse types of co-operative society and, as such, will prove useful to the social worker and the organizer of co-operative societies. The principles on which the different types of co-operative society should be worked do not however receive any elaborate treatment. The chapter on "Non-credit Co-operative Activity" is quite elaborate and the various co-operative devices for developing agriculture in India receive adequate attention from the author. There is, however, no clear demarcation between non-credit agricultural co-operation and non-credit non-agricultural co-operation—the two are jumbled up together under one heading 'non-credit co-operative activity.' In spite of these defects, however, the book will be useful as an introduction to the study of the co-operative movement in India.

CO-OPERATOR

"**Review of the Trade of India in 1926-1927**"—Issued by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, 1927, No. 2085. Price Two Rupees and Six Annas, pp. 264.

This Official Paper has a clearly written and admirable summary prefacing the colourless official statistics, tables and charts relating to foreign and frontier trade and movements of treasure. Dr. Meek is responsible for this preparation and hearty congratulations must be offered to him as well as his staff for the skilful and prompt publication of the Report of this enormous piece of work. It covers a wider field than its title indicates for the price variations of important commodities and changes in the bank rate are fully portrayed in an interesting chart. A keen scrutiny of several other useful charts and tables would reveal a mine of information to the serious reader on the state of industrial and agricultural production and the economic condition of our country.

The Report points out that during the year under review something further has been achieved in the direction of financial stability in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. There have been less violent fluctuations in the currencies of these countries than in the previous period. Thus we are slowly attaining pre-war trade conditions. The balance of trade in favour of India has fallen from 161 crores of rupees to 79 crores of rupees thus showing that post-war boom conditions are no longer to be obtained.

The most outstanding features of the foreign trade of our country are the increase in the value of the imports to the extent of 5 crores of rupees and the falling off of exports by 73 crores of rupees. These features can be easily accounted for if one remembers the coal strike of England and its inability to purchase our exports. There has also been a fall of prices in Europe and hence imports have been laid at a cheaper price in India than before. This leads us to the conclusion that if this downward trend in prices in European countries were to continue there would be no surprise if the present favourable trade balance were to disappear during the course of the succeeding years.

Manufactured cotton to the extent of 65·05 crores of rupees was easily topping the list of imports as before. Japan was sending roughly 20 per cent. of the total import of cotton and the United Kingdom's share was 75 per cent. as usual. Import of artificial silk, motor cars, dyeing and tanning substances, drugs and medicines and canned and bottled provisions was on the increase. The import of sugar amounted to 1916 crores of rupees. Increasing quantity of foreign liquors such as ale, beer, porter, spirits and wines was imported. There was a 23 per cent. decrease in the quantity of matches imported due undoubtedly to competition of increasing domestic production. There was a decrease in the import of cement and coal which came chiefly from the United Kingdom.

Coming to exports, raw and manufactured jute easily tops the list of exports. Raw cotton to the extent of nearly 58·6 crores of rupees is sent out of the country. India presents the curious spectacle of exporting raw material only to import it in a manufactured shape. This of course is due to the neglect of the Indian millowners to develop the industry on right lines when opportunities were afforded them. There has been a welcome decrease in the quantity of the export of foodgrains and flour. Oil-seeds to the value of 19·09 crores of rupees are exported instead of being crushed in our country. Similarly, hides and skins of the value of 14·55 crores of rupees could have been successfully worked into leather manufactures if competent industrialists had been forthcoming in sufficient numbers. The export of opium which can now be done under a Government certificate only has fallen to about two crores of rupees. Export of indigo has fallen to the low level of four lakhs thus proving that cheap synthetic dyes prepared by scientific processes have captured the market already. Export of Indian tobacco has also fallen in value.

So far as the direction of trade is concerned 50 per cent. of the total imports come from the United Kingdom. Germany, Japan, the United States of America and Java roughly send us each about seven per cent. of our total import trade. So far as the trend of our export trade is concerned the United Kingdom is the chief customer absorbing about 22 per cent. of our export trade. Japan and the United States of America stand next in order taking 13 and 11 per cent. of our total exports. The proportion of our export trade to the British Empire is 45·5 per cent. of our total trade. Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Australia and Hongkong are our chief customers and there are promising markets in Mesopotamia and East Africa to enterprising merchants willing to tap them.

The balance of trade as already stated is in favour of India to the extent of 79 crores of rupees, almost equivalent to the average balance of trade in favour of India in the quinquennium before the war. This balance was paid by import of treasure to the value of 39 crores of rupees. About 40 crores of rupees have still to be accounted for. The balance of remittances was against India to the extent of 1·20 crores of rupees. The net visible balance to be accounted for comes to 38·80 crores of rupees. Had there been the average pre-war sale of Council Bills about 35 crores of rupees of this could have been accounted for, The value of silver has fallen as a result of the Currency Commission's Report, the sale of silver by the Bank of France and disturbances in China. Speculative silver operations in the Far East were responsible for the violent fluctuations in its value.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Srimadbhagavadgitopanisad, Ch. II, by Sj. Kshirodenārāyaṇa Bhuniah, Vakil, Calcutta High Court, Published by the author. Price As. 12, pp. 155 and xv.

The book under review is second of the series of which the first was reviewed in this journal in Dec., 1925. In the body of the book the text is given first in clear, bold, Bengali types, and then an analytical exposition is given in detail. The special features of the edition, however, are the clearness and simplicity of the style of exposition and the copiousness of the references from various authoritative Shastras. His original commentary (in Bengali) is styled "*Śrīkṛṣṇabhāvinī*," which, if completed, would serve the purpose of a hand-book to all classes of readers. The author seems to be studious and an original thinker, and at the same time his devotion to the Hindu Shastras is admirable.

P. S.

Ourselves

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION.

The Annual Convocation for conferring Degrees will be held at the Senate House at 3 P.M. on Saturday, the 11th of February, 1928. His Excellency the Chancellor will preside.

* * * *

THE LATE MR. PAT LOVETT.

A towering personality has been removed by death from the field of journalism in this country. Mr. Patrick O'Reilly Lovett, more familiarly known as "Pat Lovett," passed away in the early hours of the 2nd of January last. His trenchant paragraphs as *Ditcher's Diary* in the pages of *Capital* were at once the model and despair of every journalist—young or old. Subtle humour, literary flavour, graceful style—all contributed to make those paragraphs handsome beyond compare and these were eagerly looked forward to, week after week, by an appreciative public. His writings were always 'original, fresh and suggestive, never dull or indifferent.' Sometimes, as occasion demanded, he made use of biting satire and caustic wit, but there was no trace of malice or ungenerous thoughts in his lines, nor was he ever 'frothy or petulant.' His genial personality and keen sense of humour, his breadth of vision and abounding love for the country in which he passed the best years of his life, made his name almost a household word in every educated family. Truly we can speak of him as one

> "...Whom no pension can incite
> To vote a patriot black, a courtier white."

The University appointed him Adharchandra Mukerjee Lecturer for 1924. His lectures on "Journalism in India," which appeared in the September and October (1926) issues of the *Calcutta Review*, were highly appreciated by the public. He was a typical Irishman, generous, large-hearted, impulsive and lovable

—a friend of the poor and the destitute—a true sportsman in every field of life, and his death is being mourned by a large section of the public. We convey our respectful condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

* * * *

DR. STEPHEN'S BEQUEST.

According to the provisions of the will left by the late Professor Henry Stephen, the executors have assigned to the University, Securities to the value of Rs. 25,700 for promoting post-graduate studies in arts. Dr. Stephen devoted his whole life to the cause of higher education in Bengal. The closing years of his distinguished career he spent in the service of the Post-graduate Department of the University for which he entertained to the last feelings of profound affection and loyalty. This gift, so noble and touching in its significance, will, therefore, be highly appreciated. And the thought that their beloved Professor never forgot the institution even in his death-bed will, we are sure, encourage his fellow-workers, whom he has left behind, to serve it with greater zeal and enthusiasm.

* * * *

THE JAGATTARINI GOLD MEDAL.

We offer our hearty felicitations to Mrs. Swarnakumari Debi, who has been awarded the Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1927. Srimati Swarnakumari is the first lady recipient of the medal, the honour in previous years having successively gone to her brother Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Saratchandra Chatterjee and Mr. Amritalal Bose. The medal is awarded for the most eminent contribution, made in the Bengali language, to letters or science. By the inclusion of her name, the list of the recipients of the medal, which already contains a number of such distinguished and brilliant names, will receive a fresh accession of dignity and charm. Though Srimati Swarnakumari now leads a retired life, her contributions continue to adorn the pages of many a Bengali periodical.

* * * *

NEW YEAR HONOURS.

We offer our congratulations to Sir Jehangir Cooverji Coyajee, the eminent Professor of Economics, on his knighthood for services rendered as a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Tariffs and Indian Currency, and this honour is most welcome as Professor Coyajee is a popular figure in his own college as well as in the Post-graduate Department, where his lectures are highly valued, and in the Senate, of which body he is a distinguished member.

We also offer our congratulations to Sir Brajendralal Mitter, Advocate General, Bengal, on the knighthood conferred on him, —an honour which he has earned by virtue of the eminence he has attained in his profession and the unflinching loyalty and devotion with which he has served the government. He is a Fellow of the Senate—powerful in debate and noted for sobriety of judgment—and the University will, no doubt, appreciate the distinction bestowed on one of its prominent members.

Pandit Sitikantha Vāchaspati of Sanskrit College, a teacher of the orthodox school, has been made a *Mahamahopadhyaya.* His vast erudition, his unassuming and simple life, his genial personality and, above all, his devotion to the cause of ancient Hindu learning have deservedly borne him to a prominent position amongst his fellow-workers. Government has done well to confer on the *Pandit* the distinction which was long overdue.

* * * *

TWO NEW PROFESSORS.

Our congratulations to Principal J. R. Banerjea and the Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart on the honour conferred on them by the Senate at the suggestion of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts. By their erudition, their scholarship, and their long, devoted service in the cause of higher education they are out and out fitted for this academic honour.

* * * *

KAMALA LECTURES.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Kamala Lecturer for 1927, will deliver a course of three lectures on "The Ideals of Indian Womanhood" at the Senate House. The first lecture will be delivered on Monday, the 23rd of January, 1928.

* * * *

READERSHIP LECTURES.

Professor Dr. Helmuth Von Glassnapp of the University of Berlin has been recommended by the Syndicate for appointment as a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on "Jainism" and "Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophers." Professor Glassnapp is a distinguished savant and is a recognised authority on the subjects mentioned. He is also the author of a number of scholarly works in German on Hinduism, Jaina Philosophy, the Doctrine of Karma and the philosophy of Madhva. All students and teachers of Philosophy, it is sure, will greatly appreciate the lectures.

* * * *

ONAUTH NAUTH DEB PRIZE FOR 1929.

The following subjects have been selected for the Onauth Nauth Deb Prize for 1929 :

(1) The Principle of Subrogation.
(2) Law of Carriers in British India.

* * * *

BEERESHUR MITTER MEDAL FOR 1928.

The following subjects have been selected for the Beereshur Mitter Medal for 1928 :

(1) The Development of Agriculture in India on Modern lines since the year 1800.

(2) The Development of the Steel Industry in India in Modern Times.

* * * *

DR. STELLA KRAMRISCH.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Lecturer, Calcutta University, has been made Corresponding Member of the *Ost-asiatische Gessellschaft*, Berlin. The *Berliner Tageblatt* of September 7, 1927, speaks about the lecture of Dr. Kramrisch, delivered to the above society, as "remarkable for its thoughts, construction and delivery."

* * * *

THE MRINALINI GOLD MEDAL.

The Mrinalini Gold Medal for 1925 has been awarded to Mr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, M.A., for his thesis on "Political History of Northern India (from the 6th to the 9th Century A.D.)"

* * * *

RESULTS OF MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1927.

First M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 123 of whom 59 passed, 57 failed and 7 were absent.

Final M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 14 of whom none passed,—but 9 students passed in Part II only.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (*New*) of the Examination was 221 of whom 78 passed, 130 failed, one was expelled and 12 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (*Old*) of the Examination was 2 of whom one passed and one failed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (*New*) of the Examination was 131 of whom 73 passed, 52 failed and 6 were absent.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1928

THE SERAMPORE PIONEERS AND THEIR CLAIMS TO REMEMBRANCE

So long as men continue to love the story of a great fight waged against tremendous odds, and to appreciate the record of strenuous endeavour and noble achievement amid overwhelming difficulties, so long will the story of the Serampore pioneers, Carey, Marshman and Ward, be held in grateful and admiring remembrance.

(1) The Serampore pioneers are worthy of remembrance because they are men who with signal devotion to the ends they had in view, played the game, and fought the good fight of faith in their day and generation. While no doubt they had much to be thankful for, and were the recipients from time to time of many and great favours and mercies, yet they seemed unable to advance an inch except at the cost of a great struggle. Now it was the bitter opposition of the old guard of the British East India Company, the Hinduized officials of the day, at another time it was the intense enmity of the Brahmanical priesthood, whose supremacy was so seriously threatened. Again there were difficulties among the converts, or with members of their own household, or with narrow-minded and uncharitable members of the home churches, or dissatisfied associates among their own fellow missionaries, the junior brethren, for, as some one has said, the greatest trial of a missionary is often another missionary. But what makes these men truly great is the manly and Christian way in which they met their troubles and afflictions. When in

the wrong themselves they frankly admitted it, but they were not given to whining or to losing their balance in any direction, or to blaming other men, much less God, when for the time being the fortunes of the battle, or of the great game in which they were engaged, seemed to go against them. I am not aware that Carey, Marshman or Ward ever played cricket in the athletic sense on any of our spacious Serampore lawns, but they knew what it was to play cricket in the deeper significance, and observing honourably the rules of the game they never condescended to adopt low-down methods to win their ends. The great game was to them one of eternal import and in the hour of deepest darkness, they always turned their eyes to the light, in expectation of dawn. Theirs was a good fight of faith, a valiant contest against opposing forces, and this is one of their claims to everlasting remembrance.

(2) Further the Serampore men are worthy of remembrance as pioneers in the sphere of Indian Education. From the outset, Carey with the full sympathy of the founders of the Mission linked education with evangelisation, the enlightenment of the mind with the salvation of the soul. Carey began, continued and ended his missionary work in the spirit of a Christian philanthropist, not as a mere proselytiser. In the spirit of Christ himself he came to India to bring more abundant life, and so among other life-giving activities, he regarded education as a holy thing, an opportunity with unparalleled opportunities for awakening the mental life, and contributing to the regeneration of the people of India less favourably circumstanced than himself. His first vernacular school for the poor peasantry of Bengal was established at Madanabati in North Bengal in 1795 and when the wider field of Serampore confronted him and his colleagues, the experiment was repeated a hundredfold. In 1800 schools of a varied character were started at Serampore, and in 1813 Marshman, with the sanction of his colleagues, submitted a scheme to the Missionary authorities at Home advocating the application to Bengal conditions of

the newly introduced systems of Bell and Lancaster, and his pamphlet of 42 pages published in 1816, and entitled "Hints relative to native schools, together with an outline of the Institution for their Extension and Management" is generally recognised as one of the ablest papers ever written on popular education in India. By the year 1818 the Serampore Mission possessed 126 vernacular schools with several thousand pupils, all receiving an elementary education and also simple continuous instruction in Christian religion and general morality—work of a truly pioneer character in the sphere of the education of the masses, which still remained the great problem in Indian administration. In the sphere of higher education (though as their charter shows, they stood for the highest university ideals and were ahead of the State Universities by thirty years in their plans), the Serampore men believed that the medium of instruction should be the Vernacular, and so were opposed both to the Orientalists and Anglicists and this idea was a marked feature of their proposals in their original form for Serampore College, though English at a later stage forced its way to the front. Only to-day are we gradually seeing the wisdom of their plans and ideals. In regard to theological and general Christian education also they were pioneers worthy of remembrance, and the following quotation is indicative of their outlook :—

> "We cannot discharge the duty we owe as Christians to India, without some plan for combining in the converts of the new religion, and more especially in its ministers, the highest moral refinement of the Christian character and the highest attainable progress in the pursuits of the mind."

That Religion, Christian or non-Christian, if it is to remain a vital power in the lives of men, cannot be divorced from the searching light of advancing knowledge and science, is something that was more frankly recognised by the Serampore pioneers more than a century ago than it is to-day by many religious leaders, Christian and non-Christian, Eastern and Western. When trustees of College Funds in America suspended the transmission of the dividends until an assurance was given that the money should not be appropriated to the teaching of science, Carey replied with indignation "As to that money not being expended in teaching science, I must confess I never heard anything more illiberal. Pray can youth be trained up for Christian ministry without science? Do you in America train up youths for it without any knowledge of science?" Carey clearly saw that what India sorely needs is not narrow-minded theologues or men with narrow sectarian or communal outlook, but a succession of men trained in an open institution in a liberal course of general culture, men of sound learning, genuine piety and sterling character, who have learned in their student days to cultivate a generous sympathy with all good men and true, whatever be their caste or creed. The broadest culture and the strongest character, they would maintain, are impossible in institutions with purely sectional and sectarian aims and communal limitations.

(3) The Serampore men are worthy of remembrance for the pioneer work they did in developing the vernacular literature of Bengal and of India as a whole. Carey started his missionary work with the resolve to translate the Bible into the principal languages of India, and so to make it an open book to the whole land. That resolution he kept and nearly forty translations of the Bible in whole or in part issued from the Serampore Press in Carey's time. In this work he was ably seconded by Ward who was as zealous in printing the Bible as Carey was in translating it, while Marshman's learning and vigour were devoted in large part to the literature of China, and to vernacular journalism in Bengali. Carey's appointment in the College of Fort William as teacher and professor of Bengali gave him an opportunity of which he made supreme use. Our great authorities in the language and literature of Bengal, men like Ram Kamal Sen, Dr. Dineshchandra Sen and Dr. Susilkumar De are all one in ungrudgingly acknowledging the outstanding value of the Serampore contribution to the revival of Bengali as a literature, and its establishment as a language. Not only

did Carey write important Bengali works himself—his Grammar, Dictionary and Dialogues are all of high value as pioneer productions—but what is more important, he encouraged to the full the best native talent, and many of the older Bengali classics were printed at the Serampore Press and made accessible to the public. It is mainly to Dr. Marshman that we owe the *Digdarsan*, the first Bengali periodical, and the *Samachar Darpan*, the first Bengali newspaper (apart from the somewhat nebulous *Bengali Gazette*, referred to by Dr. De, no file of which seems to be extant), two journals widely and eagerly read at the time by educated Bengalis and which though avoiding political controversy, laid the foundations of all vernacular journalism in Bengali. To sum up in the words of Dr. S. K. De :

> "Bengal had a language and literature of its own long before the missionaries even dreamt of coming out to this country ; yet this language had decayed, and the literature had been forgotten. It was at this time that Carey came to Bengal. In order to understand what he did for our literature, we must recollect in what state he found it when he made the first start. There was hardly any printed book; manuscripts were rare; and all artistic impulse or literary tradition was almost extinct. To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect, to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, capable as in the past of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future. Poetry there was enough in ancient Bengali literature; there was a rudiment of prose too, not widely known or cultivated. But Carey's was indeed one of the earliest attempts to write simple and regular prose for the expression of everyday thoughts of the nation. Other writers contemporaneous with him like Ram Basu, or Mritunjay took Persian or Sanskrit as their model and their prose in consequence became somewhat quaint, affected and elaborate; but the striking feature of Carey's prose is its simplicity. It is pervaded by a strong desire for clearness and for use, and by a love of the language itself. Such pioneer Carey was, and eminently fitted for this work he was by his acquirements as well as by his position."

It needs also to be noted that the first printed books in many of the other great vernaculars of India were issued from the Serampore Press.

(4) The Serampore men are worthy of remembrance as pioneers in the re-interpretation of the Christian Gospel and the passion for missionary propaganda not merely in terms of theological plans of salvation, but in modes of. social amelioration and service, applied to all forms of human need and suffering. The original impulse in most great religious movements is largely inspired by a passion for the social uplift, and the moral and spiritual regeneration of suffering and sinful men, but when that impulse has died out, and a religion is thought of in terms of communal pride, sectarian bigotry or theological dogma, it brings down upon itself the condemnation by Jesus of contemporary Judaism of the Pharisaic type "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves." Terrible words these, which missionaries of all religions with their communal pride, and theological bigotry and exclusiveness are often in danger of forgetting, and let it be frankly confessed, they have often been forgotten in the history of militant Christianity, Roman and Protestant, not to mention other religions and creeds. The Serampore men kept nearer to the ideal of their Master who went about doing good, healing the sick, feeding the hungry, teaching the ignorant, forgiving the penitent, cleansing the sinful. They knew no other Gospel than that embodied in the life and activities of their Master. There are some people even today that talk about missionaries limiting themselves to what they call the simple Gospel, and abandoning all forms of institutional and philanthropic work. But the Gospel which finds its embodiment in Jesus is not a simple Gospel. It is as many-sided as life itself, for the philanthropy of Jesus extended to all cases of genuine human need, spiritual, bodily and mental. True He stood forth among men with the heaven-born conviction that in Himself, the Son of the Eternal, was the fountain of Eternal life, and He patiently and lovingly invited all men to be His disciples, and share with Him the burden-easing yoke. Every Christian missionary worthy of the name starts with the

same conviction that the Prophet of Nazareth as the Divine Son Incarnate, is the Way, the Truth and the Life, the fountain-head of human regeneration, individual, social and political, for Jew and Gentile, bond and free, and we can do no other than lovingly, by precept and example, set forth adhesion to him by way of personal discipleship, as the foundation of the highest manhood. But like the Serampore pioneers we repudiate for all we are worth the suggestion that we are to limit ourselves as missionaries to preaching for the sake of conversion which is a mere travesty of the many-sided philanthropic Gospel of Jesus and we utterly refuse to allow our work to be judged by the number of converts we can tabulate. By that test the ministry of our Master Himself was to all intents and purposes a complete failure. Should the view of certain narrow-minded propagandists prevail (which I am far from thinking will be the case) and Christian missions were to become purely preaching agencies for purposes of conversion and swelling the membership of the Christian Church rather than continue as embodiments of the philanthropic ministry of Jesus, they would cease to have any interest whatever for many of us, and as purely proselytising agencies they would inevitably become objects of deep-seated distrust and bitter hostility to the peoples of non-Christian lands. The Serampore missionaries settled in India, and lived and worked here with the love of Christ in their hearts. They saw the people of India as sheep without a shepherd, for Hinduism, as all Hindu scholars admit, was at its lowest ebb when Carey first came to India. The shepherdless people of the land they sought in a pure spirit of divine philanthropy, rather than of proselytising zeal, to lead into green pastures, beside the still waters, and in the paths of righteousness. If there were flagrant social evils to abolish, such as Suttee and infanticide, the Serampore missionaries were in the front line as advocates of drastic social reform. When after 30 years' representations from men like Carey and Rammohan Roy, Lord William Bentinck issued the decree for the abolition of Suttee, Carey as Government translator received the decree for putting it into Bengali. The order reached him on a Sunday morning. But off went his coat, and he set to work. "No church for me to-day," he exclaimed, "a day's delay may cost the lives of many more widows." By night time the translation was in the printers' hands, and ready for circulation. That incident represents the spirit of the man and the mission. Anything and everything contributory to Indian progress, which they had ways and means of helping, were dear to the hearts of the Serampore pioneers. They organised savings banks, benevolent institutions, leper asylums and hospitals, and Carey was the founder of the Agri-horticultural Society. Indeed he was a distinguished botanist, and his botanical garden at Serampore covering an area of five acres, was one of the best in Asia. He saw then, as many more are coming to see now, that advance in scientific agriculture is the chief economic hope of the Indian peasantry. In short, the Serampore men are worthy of remembrance as pioneers of the Gospel of social service, and the historian of the future must inevitably recognise that in Serampore are to be found the roots of the modern renaissance in Bengal and in India, and the awakening of the social and civic conscience that we now witness in the hearts and minds of tens of thousands of good men and true throughout this land. As the first Englishmen to settle in India not for purposes of commerce, professional gain or official work but for wholly disinterested service to the motherland, whether social, educational or religious, they still point the way to the one hope of India's salvation, through self-sacrificing and consecrated leadership, whether Indian or European, Hindu, Mussulman or Christian.

GEORGE HOWELLS

THE EYES OF THE BEHOLDER

"Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty,—that is all
Ye know on Earth, and all ye need to know."—*Keats.*

It has been said that Beauty lies in the eyes of the beholder, and it is very true; for all beauty is relative—the interpretation must spring from the perception of the beholder, or individual. What is beauty to one may be hideous to another; an artist may paint a cubist picture and see in it divine symbolism and beauty, while to another it will appear as the materialized vision of a lunatic.

One may see in some of the schools of modern sculpture, beauty supreme, but compared with the works of the ancient Greeks, there is but little beauty of line, form or conception. Keats has said that "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever ;" but comparatively few could ensoul the exquisiteness that he beheld in the Greek Vase, carved with all the perfection of detail of a Phidias, depicting the story of Cupid and Psyche, or the birth of Aphrodite from the waves—the majority would see far more beauty in a luridly painted plaster vase.

Culture and understanding, like everything else in this world, is a matter of evolution. Love of beauty is inherent in every soul ; we may say that it is instinctive. It is instinctive for an infant, but newly come with its " trailing robes of glory " into earth-life, to grasp at a sun-beam, or a rose ; the light and colour attracting and focusing its awakening faculties, as a bright bit of wool or silk fastened to a spool will tempt a kitten into all sorts of graceful gyrations.

An African from the jungles will array himself in bright beads and feathers, his instinct leading him to admire them ; as the sex-instinct will cause the female to adorn herself in beads and bangles and wonderful head-dresses to tempt the sturdy warrior or hunter into a snare of desire ; it is Nature's old way of propagating the race.

A Giotto, Tintoretto, or a Raphael, may be born to poverty and in the most unpropitious surroundings; but he will awaken to comprehend his gift of beholding beauty in the things around him ; he will grasp a pointed stick, or a piece of charcoal, and transfer his imaginary pictures to the fences, rocks, a barrel-top or to the sands on the sea-shore. If one has the divine gift of Art and cherishes an ideal, the world will spread a canvas at his feet. The Creative Spirit must create, must give expression to its ideas.

One may be born a poet, though but an humble ploughman amid blooming heather, but he will realize that " his soul is baptized and set apart for poetry ;" he will find a poem in the wee, modest, pink-tipped daisy, or in the escaping field-mouse, and feel a kinship to everything in Nature.

One may be gifted with a voice of beauty, and culture or no culture, he must sing, and the song will find an echo in the hearts of the multitude. On the other hand, a fortune may be spent to cultivate a voice where there is none, or strive to transform talent into genius ; as well seek to " gild the lily," or to "turn a sow's ear into a silken purse!" The soul only responds to the real, and not to the imitation.

I once saw a very expensive and wonderful contrivance, a stuffed nightingale in a gilded cage : when wound up it would turn its head, hop about and execute remarkable trills and roulades ; but oh, the pity of it ! The spirit was lacking ! A mocking-bird swinging on a cedar bough, singing its mating-song could thrill the heart with joy and responsive gladness.

One may behold a radiant sun-set and say, " Oh, it is beautiful !" But not every one can feel reverence and adoration for the Great Cause back of the sun-set, or realize that the Creative Spirit of God is painting his marvelous daily pictures before our very eyes.

There are souls who comprehend : Beethoven wove the beauty of the moon-light into a deathless Sonata ; Chopin's fanciful ear heard music in the rain-drops; Grieg captured the heart-throbs of the things of Nature, and transformed them into his Norwegian melodies ; and Mendelssohn heard the footsteps of the coming Spring, and gave us the rapture of his exquisite song.

An uncultured millionaire might travel to the Parthenon, as it stands in grand but pathetic ruins on the top of the Acropolis, and exclaim, " Why it is only a pile of broken marble ! Why do men travel to see it?"

The appreciative soul sees in those ruins the Parthenon as it stood in its once marvelous perfection, fresh from the hands of Phidias and his pupils. They see in it, the lost grandeur of Greece ; the ideal of an erstwhile mighty race ; the broken shaft over the grave of the Aspasian Age !

To the true artists all thing are innately beautiful. " The Poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling," sees in the violet his Cynthia's eyes ; in the rose her blushing cheek, and in the corn-silk, her glory of golden hair.

A sturdy son of Walton, unless he chance to be of the Van Dyke variety, may, in playing his fly to catch the wiley trout, crush the gold of the primrose under his feet;

> " A primrose by the river's brim,
> A yellow primrose was to him,
> And it was nothing more."

To the idealist it is a smile of God dropped down to earth and touched into life by the magic wand of the Sun.

Wordsworth, the High-Priest of Nature, said, " To me the meanest flower that blows, can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

In the dusty rag-weeds beside the highway, we can find beauty, if we look beneath the dust. Let the sun shine on this same dust and it is transmuted into a golden powder sifted down from Pomona's cornucopia. As evil is but the broken reflection of good, so the unsightly is the distorted refraction of the beautiful. To see beauty in the unsightly, to create beauty out of the void of the un-beautiful, is a divine gift as much as the arts of poetry, painting or sculpture.

There is an Eastern legend that tells of the Christ, who when about to enter a little town with his disciples at eventide, came upon a crowd that surrounded the body of a dog that had been killed. All were exclaiming in disgust,—"How terrible it looks! He is all torn and bleeding. How distended are his eyes, and how the flies swarm!" The Christ looked and gently said, "*But see, how pearly white are the teeth!*" The crowd was aghast and cried, "Who art Thou? Art Thou He who was to come? Surely none but He could find beauty in the carcass of a dead dog!"

To the pure, all things are pure; to the idealist, all things are ideal. One must have his ideal before he can manifest the real. Every painter sees his finished picture ere he touches brush to canvas, every sculptor sees his vision ere his chisel evolves it from the marble; every Poem that touches the emotions of others, springs from the heart of the poet all palpitating with creative fire. That which we comprehend in the beautiful all about us, is ours: thus Emerson says:

"I am the owner of the sphere,
Of the seven stars and the solar year,
Of Cæsar's hand, and Plato's brain,
Of Lord Christ's heart, and Shakespeare's strain."

No man can buy the sun-set, or the perfume of the rose.

A daintily-clad lady may spring across a puddle in the street, with frowns and maledictions on the mud; a poor working man, from the factory, going homeward in the twilight, with head down-bent, sees the evening star reflected in the puddle, and looks up with thanks to God for the rest of the eventide. We must first have within ourselves an appreciation and understanding of the beautiful and then the world will open up new mysteries to our ken.

"The poem hangs on the berry-bush
When comes the poet's eye,
And the whole street is a masquerade
When Shakespeare passes by."

All beauty lies as much in the eye of the beholder as in the object beheld; if we look for the beautiful we can usually find it. In the blackest character there is some redeeming trait; from out the blackest muck and slime, the water-lilies grow, and what under God's blue canopy is more fragile, fragrant, and beautiful than a water-lily?

To some a caterpillar is an unsightly creeping thing that causes a shudder; to another it is the velvet recepticle of a jewel-winged butterfly, and tenderly lifted from the dust to a bending bough overhead.

"Beauty is a fading flower," is a motto worked on our grand-mother's samplers in pains-taking cross-stitch; but there is a beauty that goes so much deeper than in externals; beauty of the soul, or the character. It is the fire in the gem that gives it light and colour; it is the spirit in the chalice of the lily that gives it beauty and fragrance. The beauty may fade from the face we love, but to us it is still beautiful, and glorified by the love-light in the eyes, and the tender grace of the spirit that beams through them upon us.

How well the Irish bard understood this, when he cried in that tenderest of all love-songs,

> "Believe me, if all those endearing young charms
> Which I gaze on so fondly to-day,
> Were to change by to-morrow, and fleet in my arms,
> Like fairy-gifts fading away,
> Thou wouldst still be adored, as this moment thou art,
> Let thy lovliness fade as it will,
> And around the dear ruin each wish of my heart
> Would entwine itself verdantly still."

Poets are natural seers, and know instinctively that all physical beauty, because so evanescent, is the least important manifestation of outward perfection. The unseen beauty of the spirit, however, is eternal, forever fresh and unfaded. It is there for the inward eye to behold, waiting patiently for recognition, and ever responsive to appreciation.

Old violins, old books, old wine and many inanimate things are regarded as increasing in value as they age; but man, so often blinded by the veil of the flesh, does not realize that people's bodies are as capable of increased beauty and value as they grow older. Happy the man who sees through the obstructions of the flesh to the living, glowing fire of the divine and inextinguishable spirit within. A scarred and cracked old jar may contain rare and exquisite perfume; one man may see only the out-worn vessel, and another may cherish it as the container of a beautiful essence.

Fragments of the broken Magic-mirror, as told in Hans Christian Anderson's delightful story of the "Snow-Queen," must still be floating in the atmosphere and lodging in unwary eyes, thus distorting reflections, and turning diamonds and roses to toads and snakes. It was suffering and tears that at last melted the ice-heart of little Kay, and washed the evil glass from his eyes, so that he could again see the beautiful and rejoice.

Tears and pain are oft-times sent to clear the windows of our souls, so that we may look not through the glass darkly. A clear calm lake reflects everything about it and gives back beauty for beauty. So it is with a clear, calm spirit. We must involve before we can evolve goodness, truth or beauty. To comprehend and appreciate the beautiful is a divine treasure that we should all seek for. Play the game of a "treasure-hunt" and see how much beauty your eyes can behold in one day, then give thanks for your discoveries to the Great Artist who has placed such beauty in the world about you, and for your use.

"Beauty is the only thing that time cannot harm. Philosophers fall away like sand; creeds follow one another, but what is beauty, is a joy for all seasons, a possession for all eternity."

TERESA STRICKLAND

SHIVA—THE AWAKENED REALITY

Although our worldly experience varies every moment, still it does not require a very wide stretch of imagination to realise that there is some principle, underlying our varied and passing sensations of daily life, which is of a more permanent nature and sets us in quest of a systematic order in creation in relation to that. Thus we generally feel of some such underlying principle, as will enable us to compare the impressions, left on our mind (*Antahkaraṇa*) when functioning as memory (*Chitta*), by past incidents, with those caused by the present events; since memory is a manifestation of past experiences or apprehensions by *Chit* through the feeling of *Asmitá* or Selfhood.[1] This is explained in the "Upanishad" by stating that there is an enjoyer of what is subtle, that is the recollection of impressions or apprehensions left on the mind by past presentations sensed in the waking state of consciousness (*i.e.*, as opposed to the dreamless sleep or *Susupti* state of Supreme Experience, which is called *Sangvit*), when the sense organs of the experiencer were all in full play and could go outward to gain experiences of motional presentations. Of course while remembering past experiences we cannot properly say that our senses are actually in any sort of present play. Thus the enjoyer or experiencer, who is the basis of all our inner faculties and experiences, the *Asmitá* feeling as abstract selfhood, which is ever ready to respond to any feeling, is never carried away by the world-flow of phenomenality, and so it is of a more permanent nature as a reality. To adopt the language of the modern theory of relativity, it is the "real space" behind the sphere of motion, and in *Shástrik* language is called *Praviviktabhuk*.[2] For affecting the background, a sensation or feeling is said to be psychologically or metaphysically subjectified, which creates an experience of a permanent nature; so that this subjectivation really connotes a fusion of the feeling with the background, producing an aspect of revived and awakened Reality in the immanent form that causes apprehension of minor realities.

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[1] See Shloka (18).

[2] "Mandukyopanishad," 4.

It is not very difficult to apprehend that an experience ordinarily owes its origin to enjoyment or feeling by the subject, which represents awakened but veiled consciousness of *Asmitá* as Self inherent in us; and so it varies in accordance with the effectiveness, for the time being, of the means through which *Jívas* enjoy or feel a particular sensation. For instance, waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep are all phenomenal states of awakened consciousness in which each apprehension of external presentations varies, because of the operation or cessation of operation of the means or instruments (*Karaṇa*) called senses, through the medium of which, generally all empirical experiences are gained. It need not be stated here that the sense organs (*Indriya*) can ordinarily generate empirical experience only. So that apprehensions through external sense organs can never be counted as experiences of realities. And a complete experience must embrace and be the result of experiences, which is common through all the above three states of Consciousness. This leads to the experience of realities, which we call *Tattvas*. Our Indian philosophy says that, there is a fourth state, besides the abovementioned three states of Consciousness, which is called the *Turíya* state or the state equivalent to the state of Supreme Experience; wherein further experience is not possible to be gained even directly by Consciousness, through introspection and intuition, because It is already Full, and unveiled Consciousness or *Chit*. This state to our pragmatic view is practically the dead or trance state of Consciousness. All modifications or changes, common to empirical experiences, generating the conceptions of all antitheses or opposites (*Dvandva*), cease here in this state; and Consciousness as the true background and only receptacle of all changeful experience is apprehended, and after revival introspection can arise therein; this is called the "Absolute State." The theory of relativity also adopts the same term for perfectly motionless space, in relation to which all motions are ultimately apprehended. We should note here that "space" in relation to a kinetic medium is equivalent to "state" in a motionless homogeneous continuum.

In the waking state, experience may be said to be gained through the conditioning or finitizing instruments, *viz.*, the ten senses as well as the mind, which latter in the *Dârshanik* language is called the eleventh sense. In the dream state of Consciousness, only the subtle impressions left by past empirical experiences as apprehensions that had originated through the action of some of the senses as well as the mind are active; in the dreamless sleep state, the mind (*Antahkarana*) in its stage of involution called *Buddhi* (intellect) alone, unaided by the other senses, becomes active towards the termination of this state, since in the "*Sushupti* state the sense capacities are absorbed in the *Prâna.*" The first feeling after awakening therefore resembles the almost blank feeling that I have slept well. Of course all empirical experiences pertain to phenomenality or objective, motional or psychical presentations, concerning Reality, and are apprehended by awakened consciousness. Thus in the transcendental or *Turîya* state, there should be neither the mind nor the senses (which are all manifestations of *Shakti* and form instruments for gaining phenomenal experiences, so they are already under the control of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* modifications of Consciousness) ; all having proceeded towards involution, previous to reaching to the dreamless sleep state of the prior awakened Consciousness; because, unless Consciousness be a revived and awakened presence to start with, it is not possible for It to undergo the three phenomenal states of waking, dreaming and dreamlessly sleeping. Accordingly the experience in the first awakened state is not at all conditioned or limited by any conditioning principle. Human logic is absolutely powerless here.

So we see, gradations in empirical experience fully depend upon the abovementioned states of Consciousness, which, starting from the waking or veiled state, ultimately may become dimensionless in the *Turīya* state, and Supreme Experience is always directionless and dimensionless. Proceeding upwards these states are called respectively—*Hiranyagarbha, Īsvara* and *Virāt*—all applicable to an awakened and not to an inert substance like the dead Supreme Experience. Further as the empirical experience becomes less distinct to this awakened personality, the transcendental experience may grow more prominent to him by the manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*; because Reality is nothing but the sum total of Experiences at all states. Again as regards the senses, Dr. Eriksen says that—

> "Considered in relation to consciousness, sense—the inner as well as the outer—may be characterised as a form of passive, not active awareness. Obviously sense implies consciousness, as no sensation can exist without having in some way a conscious existence. Now consciousness (as an active reality) always implies a duality; the being aware of something and the something (object or contents) of which one is aware. Though the word consciousness accentuates the subjective side of the duality—the being aware—and therefore is more fit to designate the higher psychic life than sense, where the objective side—or that of which one is aware—seems to hold the ground alone, it cannot be opposed to sense, because, sense would be impossible unless the subjective side—or the being aware—were present as well, though unnoticed in the act by which the object of sense reveals itself." [1]

All this is true in the field of duality; but in the *Turīya* state, as already stated, there is no experience of duality, but only the monistic Reality, which is the inactive aspect of Supreme Experience in its stage beyond the awakening from dreamless-sleep state.

The word "mind" is not to be taken in the foregoing paragraphs in the sense given to it by the western psychologists, when they say that "mind is co-extensive with consciousness," but mind, according to the Indian philosophy by its four functions—*Manas*, *Buddhi*, *Ahangkâra*, and *Chitta*, means more or less a material force enveloping immanent consciousness. Mind and such consciousness are two distinct entities, the one deriving its illumination from the other. In *Jîva*, mind, which is both the substance and the process, is never separated from consciousness. On the contrary the latter, which is ever unchanged, is being veiled or unveiled by the mental processes manifesting objective presentations only. For instance, notwithstanding the impossibility, in its veiled condition for consciousness to conceive of more than three dimensions of space, we are, in seeking truth, obliged to face time as its fourth-dimension, an apprehension conceived through the intuition of comparatively unveiled consciousness, as that which brings in the idea of unity with infinity; thus we find that the hypothesis of four-dimensionality, in this view, upon taking the shape of the theory of relativity, is going to revolutionize the whole scientific world. Here surely mind is transcended by consciousness, immanent and veiled though it be.

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[1] C. L. and F., p. 9.

It is beyond our comprehension to think that in the absolute or *Turîya* state the contents of Consciousness can be anything other than Supreme Experience; so much so, that in the primeval trans-awakening state, Consciousness and Experience coalesced and formed subsequently what in Shāstrik language is called the *Chidâkâsha* in the first awakened stage of Reality; the *Svarûpa Lakshana* or primary or internal signs of which state were "unity, wholeness and freedom." *Chidâkâsha* has been translated as the "Ether of Consciousness" (*i.e.*, *Chit* as all-pervading and all-penetrating like the ether of space), which formed an equipotential plenum as well as continuum in which the whole stress-system, being the root-cause of all presentations, operated. Herein the subject and the object formed one coalesced existence by complete abstraction.

Thus according to the doctrines of the Indian philosophy, apprehension of the experience of Godhead can be realised only through one's own consciousness (approachable through the feeling of *Asmitá*) when rendered fetterless by the material senses through the performance of *Yoga* practice, whereby the opening of the eye of wisdom (*Jnána-chakshu*), which means insight into inner faculties causing modifications of immanent consciousness, takes place. Such apprehension is possible to be gained by synthesising the manifestation of Consciousness or *Chit* displayed by Godhead in the proper apprehension of the process of cosmic evolution, which we understand to be, and denominate as, the creation of the universe. These considerations lead us to believe that the ultimate active Reality was awakened *Chit* or Consciousness, which in Āgamic language is called *Shiva* (either *Nirguṇa* or *Saguṇa*, and *Nishkala* or *Sakala*), realisable only through subjective intuition and not by purely objective presentations. One of the meanings attached to the term *Shiva* is that everything rested in him, *i.e.*, the universe owes its cause to, and finds its destination of rest in, Him (*Shete'smin sarvamiti Shivah*). Again the word Reality, from the *Asmitá* as Selfhood aspect of view, may be explained in the language of Dr. Eriksen as the ego on the subjective side, which is "always present as an unobjectifiable 'more' of reality, beyond the various reproducible elements or the sum of them. And the unpresentative or Unphenomenal character of this reality makes it only more real to an apprehension which is not entangled in the illusive prejudice that all which is felt in an unpresentative manner necessarily must be unreal and non-existing."[1] So that the realisation of this Reality "is the result of a process of abstraction, excluding from the object all that is not characterised by the clear presentativeness or phenomenality."[2] This is called the psychological process of subjectification and tantamounts to weighing the presentation with the experiences of the Self, deriving materials from the Supreme Experience while in the process of awakening.

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[1] C. L. and F., p. 11.

[2] C. L. and F., p. 10.

Now what is knowledge in its ordinary sense? It is the state attained by human consciousness—which is consciousness veiled and relates to the experiences of the empiric world only and so different from Supreme Experience (explained later on)—as the effect of apprehending or experiencing something of phenomenality; but at any rate it should be different from simply learning a new language. So that essentially it is nothing but a modification, if we may say so, which the individual consciousness undergoes through the coalescence of the subject and any subjective presentation to him, attainable by earnest and constant meditation only. But consciousness as inherent in humanity, is really in a conditioned or veiled state, and not in the unlimited, absolute or natural state, of Supreme Experience, which is really the principle that pigeon-holes all empirical experiences. Accordingly ordinary human knowledge which, as we have seen, is more or less simply a mode of the conditioned consciousness, is much more limited in comparison with the knowledge of the Absolute, which is the true nature of Perfect Consciousness, the *Chit*, the ultimate reservoir containing the seed not only of all empirical experiences but also of all possibility of experience as well. This Perfect Consciousness is called *Shiva*; which, being the fundamental and essential, awakened cause of evolution, is the principle to be studied and then partially apprehended (not in its full Greatness, but according to the capacity of the apprehender, which no doubt is much less comprehensive in comparison with the Greatness of *Shiva* Himself) by the veiled consciousness of *Jíva* as the presence or Beingness that awakened to apprehend the motional aspects of *Chit*. The Greatness of *Shiva* is such that the *Veda* (Revelation) defines Him in negative terms (*Neti Neti*—not this, not that), as if with awe, because it is unable to portray Him in His true grandeur. The *Shástra* says that the Perfect Consciousness or *Shiva* is the substance that exists *parexcellence,* *i.e.*, is the ever-lasting presence, or the permanent Being as awakened Reality. It is Knowledge collectively that ever illumines the universe.

To form some idea of the awakened Reality, all the Indian philosophies have made attempts by trying to explain the process of creation or the world-process, as conceived by the unfailing apprehensions of the ancient sages, who were great adepts in *Yoga*. Yet these explanations are, after all, in the language of the thought of conditioned beings, so that they lack much in truly depicting any transcendental experience like the effect of the activity of Reality, which is generally spoken of as the awakened Supreme Experience or *Chit* or in the language of Prof. Benoyendranath Sen "the Intellectual Ideal." The term *Chit* has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as "Consciousness" in the absence of any more fitting word in the English language. In terms of empirical experience, *Chit* in its awakened aspect has been hinted at by the same learned author as the Experience of the changeless, the reflecting and illuminating background of all changeful phenomena, specially perceptible through the realisation of its psychic activity. To appreciate creation or evolution, we should start by saying, that the process was commenced by an emanation of awakened Consciousness, just like the part said to be played by emanation in a radioactive phenomenon. Here we ought to bear in mind that the word *Srishti* comes from a root, which means to project, and the process indicated by it is supposed to be beginningless (*Anâdi*) and so ever-continuous, which means that the activity of Reality is ceaseless. Psychologically we observe that the subjectivation-objectivation process is an ever-continuous one ; it being due to the characteristic property of awakened Consciousness.

Creation presupposes that the Creator must have been a conscious and awakened Being, that must have possessed complete experience-ions to understand what he apprehended regarding the movements of cosmogony. He must have been all-knowing (*Sarvajna*). Similarly, all objects having forms also produce in our mind the presupposition that they are all created things, because they are not formless, and forms are ever subject to decay and deterioration. But to our mechanical comprehension the most formless form is the idea of a true point, which cannot change. Hence the apprehension of creation requires an Agent or subjective cause (*Karttá*), possessing Supreme or Perfect Experience condensed in a true point or *Bindu*. In the absolute state there should be no difference between this Supreme Experience and Its possessor—they must both be the same entity; because in this state there should be no differentiation between the subject (*Aham*) and the object (*Idam*); both remaining in a mingled union as One *Bindu* or point. But the creator aspect should always be an active and the static aspects combined into One. This is the "absolute space" which is active fundamental Reality, pervading in possible points, and to which every apprehension owes its origin. The force of "pervading" may be explained as, that every point in this space is liable to be converted into a cognising centre of "that circle whose circumference is nowhere but whose centre is everywhere."[1] Thus the Creator, according to the Indian views, constitutes both the instrumental and the substantive cause of creation. So it is clear that the Supreme Experience or *Chit* becomes immanent in the created objects. But owing to the three *Guṇas*—*Sattva, Rajas, Tamas* (which are called *Guṇa* or attributes of awakened Reality and are ever present associated together to form the chord of *Máyá-Shakti*), the actions of which are respectively—manifestation, action, veiling—the immanent *Chit* becomes obscured to different degrees of gradations. Since to make an unlimited or infinite thing appear limited or finite the potency of this mysterious agency called *Máyá-Shakti* was requisitioned. Thus *Máyá* may be defined as that which possesses the power to make the unlimited to appear as limited (*Míyate anayá iti Máyá*) and so she is called a *Shakti*. Thus

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[1] "Spiritual Unfoldment," p. 60.

Máyá-Shakti is called the Creatrix of the world. The awakened *Chit*, in Its aspect as *Chit-Shakti* or "absolute space," as one of the abovementioned twofold cause of creation, is actually supposed to remain unmoved by presentations to Her all the time. The Powers *Chit-Shakti* and *Máyá-Shakti*, which may be translated in the words of Dr. Eriksen as the subjective and objective-presentations or the attractive and the repulsive or the quality-generating and the quantity-generating powers following the processes of intension and extension, co-operated and counteracted with each other; hence *Máyá-Shakti* is taken to be an aspect of *Brahman* Itself. Here *Chit-Shakti* practically, like the *Purusha* of *Sángkhya* philosophy, acted by Her presence only as the efficient cause, yet remaining unchanged Herself; while *Máyá-Shakti* proved to be the material cause of all apprehensions of changes in the universe. Accordingly, *Máyá* may be likened to substance-energy of evolution. In connection with this, it is to be borne in mind that *Shakti* and the Possessor of *Shakti*, pursuant to the doctrines inculcated by the *Sháktágama*, are one and the same substance, so that Power of Consciousness = Consciousness in Its awakened aspect; and *Máyá* arose out of the activity of the primordial substance.

The equilibrated condition of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* is called *Prakriti*; and *Máyá* and *Prakriti* are interchangeable terms (*Máyáng tu Prakriting vidyát*). In fact all the *Shuddhá-shuddha* and *Ashuddha Tattvas* arose out of *Máyá*, and even the realities of *Shuddha Tattvas* are not altogether free from *Máyá*, though not controlled by Her; *i.e.*, in these last mentioned *Tattvas* they always presented four-dimensional aspects of Reality as realities, wherein Time and Space were ever in a co-ordinate relation and gave the true idea of *Tattvas*; whereas in the other two classes of *Tattvas* the concepts of time and of space became gradually separated and ultimately formed two distinct ideas unconnected with each other.

The ultimate monistic Reality, in the language of *Vedánta* philosophy, is called *Brahman* or the Grand or Immense Reality, in opposition to the minor realities called *Tattvas*, as also (rather in an attributive aspect) *Sat-Chit-Ānanda*. This latter designation has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as Being-Consciousness-Bliss. These last terms seem to denote an aspect, *Brahman* assumes in Its quiescent or static but awakened attitude, *i.e.*, when *Shakti* after Her any particular manifestation became latent or conserved in *Brahman*; this is slightly different from Its transcendental and unawakened form. Here we must remember that the presentations caused by *Shakti* are always to be looked at from their psychical and mechanical aspects. When by way of play (hinting at Its spontaneity), *Brahman* entertained the Will to evolve, there appeared an activity or motion in Its body, whereby *Māyā-Shakti* is said to have derived the substance-energy for the presentations of the cosmic activity. Thus *Brahman* then assumed the form of Power or *Shakti* to create presentations. So that, in the language of relativity *Brahman* then became the "absolute space" and *Shakti*, the cause of motion or Stress (*Kalā*). She is called *Kalā*, because all the manifestations, to which She is capable, do not form a simultaneous presentation, but go on repeatedly and successively manifesting for ever. Thus in the static atttitude, a presentation assumed by it immediately after the presentation of the previous static-kinetic aspect, due to *Shakti* becoming *Vimarsha* or conserved in the Self, *Brahman* and Its Power will become one and the same reality ; since *Shakti* as *Parāshakti* remains potentialised then in *Brahman* before further manifestation, and She must be more so when *Brahman* is considered in the light of the sole Reality or Beingness in the beginning.

Thus there are three ways in which *Brahman* can be viewed at from our empirical standpoint: *viz.*, in Its transcendental unawakened aspect, which is inexplicable being beyond both mind and speech, because It is then *Tattvātīta*, It is then called *Brahman* or *Paramashiva* ; in its static but awakened aspect, as opposed to kinetic aspect, It is *Sat-Chid-Ānanda* or Being-Consciousness-Bliss ; and in its kinetic aspect, seen in relation to its wakeful aspect, when it is called *Sakala* or combined with Stress. Thus it is said :—

> (6) *"Sachchidânanda vibhavât sakalât Parameshvarât*
> *Âsichchhakti stato Nâdo Nâdât Bindu samudbhavah"*

"From *Parameshvara* vested with the wealth of *Sachchidânanda* and with *Prakriti* (*Sakala*) issued *Shakti*, from *Shakti* came *Nâda* and from *Nâda* was born *Bindu.*" *Sakala Paramesvara*=*Shiva-tattva*, because "*Shakti*, when *Vyashtirûpā*, that is individualised, is called *Kalâ*"[1]; *Nâda*=experience of a motional objective presentation, that also caused a supersensual natural sound due to motion : and *Bindu*=aspect of the subjectified, psychical experience of this motional presentation resembling *Asmitâ* or *Ahantâ* as Self, because such an experience was "*Ahangkârâtmâ*" that arose out of Selfhood as its essence.

The static aspect and the kinetic aspect cannot exist independent of each other, and are called *Shiva-tattva* and *Shakti-tattva* respectively. In fact, in the language of Sir John Woodroffe. "*Shiva-Shakti Tattva* is conceived as round the *Shiva Bindu* there is coiled *Shakti*. This coiled *Shakti* may be conceived as a mathematical line without magnitude which is everywhere in contact with the *Bindu* and forms one and the same point. This is how *Shakti's* becoming latent may be explained to our notion." *Shiva-tattva* is conceived to consist of a *Bindu* or point, because it is taken to mean the first subjectified aspect of awakened but changeless Consciousness as *Asmitâ* or Selfhood due to psychological intension. It is the aspect of the centre of a coiled spring when released and allowed to recoil. In connection with this, a *Tattva* can be explained as the different stages or phases, which, *Chit* as an eternally conscious wakeful and active Reality, in Its repeated subjectified perceptions of motional presentations apprehended by It, underwent and conceived in evolving the apprehension of the phenomenal world ; or in other words, *Tattvas* are modes of the fundamental Reality which is Consciousness in essence, that created the reals, which ultimately induced the idea, and caused the experiences, of the phenomenal world. But *Tattvas* being modes of awakened Reality as realities, they do not disappear until the final dissolution or cessation of cosmic motion. So it is said :—

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[1] G. of L., p. 100.

(7) " *Āpralayang tishthati yat sarveshāng bhogadâyî bhûtânâm*
Tat Tattvamiti proktang na sharîra-ghatâdi tattvamatah."

A category of primal aspective reality, which subsists up to the time of final dissolution, and which is the source of all experiences of enjoyments or sufferings to the evolved or phenomenal beings, is called *Tattva.* So that the apprehension of material or phenomenal and objective aspect or *duplication* of a presentation, like the human body or the earthen jar, does not deserve to be called *Tattva.*

The aspect assumed by Reality or *Chit,* when any presentation of Its Power as *Máyá-Shakti* became subjectified as *Chit Shakti,* has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as Being-Feeling-Consciousness-Bliss ; or in other words, Consciousness or *Chit,* which had departed from Its transcendent state and has on reviving assumed a wakeful aspect wherein any presentation by *Shakti* aroused by Its Will to evolve might have become subjectified after causing the result called Becoming, was transformed from Consciousness simple into Feeling-Consciousness or Experience. In conformity with this view, transcendental *Chit* or *Brahman*=Sangvit=unrevived Supreme Experience : *Sat-Chid-Ānanda*=Shiva=Background of awakened Experience : *Chit-Shakti*=Feeling-Consciousnes=slightly directed Experience.

" When, however, we speak of *Chit* as feeling-consciousness, we must remember that what we know and observe as such, is only a limited changing manifestation of *Chit,* which is in itself the infinite changeless principle, which is the background of all experience."[1]

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[1] " Serpent Power," p. 27.

The static aspect forms the background of the kinetic aspect, as otherwise the dynamic aspect becomes impossible to be differentiated. Accordingly *Shiva-tattva* and *Shakti tattva* are ordinarily considered as two aspects of the same *Tattva*, and may be conveniently written thus, *Shiva-Shakti* or *Shakti-Shiva Tattva*; and as a matter of fact, they are, for the sake of brevity, simply called *Shiva-tattva*. According to Sir John Woodroffe, *Shiva-tattva* and *Shakti-tattva* may be ascribed as if due to the effect of a polarisation taking place within Its body of the fundamental stuff as awakened Reality, like the north pole and the south pole of a magnet.

From what has been discussed already, it may be understood that the ultimate Reality is Consciousness or Supreme Experience placed beyond the awakening from dreamlessly sleeping state even. Again all our experiences are based on subjectified feelings of enjoyment or suffering by individualised and condensed centres of awakened Consciousness. So that apprehensions of experiences of all past worlds are always present in Consciousness as the ultimate receptacle, in the form of *Sangskâra* or collectivity of tendencies. Now these tendencies, as long as they remain in an inward-turned or tending towards involution, *i.e.*, self-enclosed, state, there would be no differentiation proper of the subject from the object in the Supreme Experience. But Consciousness is self-illuminant and self-contained, and being the only cognizing principle, It willed to manifest Itself into many through the feeling of Fullness, as the first sign of reviving. Besides the motional aspect, that engendered *Mâyâ* (meaning the concepts of Space and Time), is presumed never to subside altogether. Accordingly the potentialised tendencies due to past experiences became gradually outward turned and a gradual apprehension of "This" (*Idam*) or object arose, first as part of Self, when the Subject or *Aham* first saw Its own image reflected in the *Idam* or Object, in the sense of an idea of existence in the form of His Power in the vacancy of apprehension of existence ; accordingly this Power or *Shakti* is called the pure mirror in which *Shiva* experienced first His self-existence. This *Idam* ultimately went outside the Self and the differentiation between Subject and Object became complete. The *Tattva* in which the experience of "I" or Subject predominated and the experience of "This" or Object in the form of the Power of the Subject still formed a part of the Self, is called the *Sadâshiva* or *Sadâkhya Tattva*, which is said to be the first emanation of Consciousness.

As has been stated above the *Aham* or Subject differentiated ultimately from the *Idam* or Object side of Consciousness to evolve the experience of the phenomenal world, through the intervention of *Mâyâ*, which caused *Bhedabuddhi* or the idea of differentiation. From this, and since the Subject and Object are at base Consciousness or *Chit*, it is clear that true knowledge of any presentation can only be possible to be had by synthesising through a process of involution the phases of Consciousness that has led to any particular presentation in question, and thereby reaching to the stage where *Aham* and *Idam* will coincide. This is done through Mind and its prior *Tattvas*, and is known as the psychologically backward tracing process of subjectivation or *Nididhyâsana*. True apprehension of a presentation, according to the Indian idea, takes place by a process which has been styled by Sir John Woodroffe as "the knowing of the like by the like," since, he says—"one and the same Causal Stress in the original Substance-Energy (*Shakti*) phenomenally appears as the sense on the one hand and the matter and its qualities on the other." To understand this, the psychology of perception, as explained by the Indian philosophy, may be summarised in the language of the same author—

> "Mind is through the sense organs (*Indriya*) affected by the objects which it selects (as *Manas*) refers to itself the personal experience so enjoyed (as *Ahangkāra*) and then determines (as *Buddhi*)." [1]

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[1] "Power as Mind." p. 20.

This is further explained by the same philosophy by saying that, Mind, in the form of *Buddhi*, whose substance is *Mâyâ* (in the form of concepts of space and time as Her elementary notions), goes out to the object, envelops it and assumes the form of the object, and then presents it to consciousness (meaning human consciousness), which forms the background of mind. This modification thus assumed by *Buddhi* is called its mode or *Vritti*. In other words, the object must attain subjectivity through the perceiving Self (called by Dr. Eriksen "self-feeling ") to be apprehended by immanent *Chit* as the manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*. This subjective stage in substance is of course felt in connection with awakened Consciousness Itself or the fundamental Reality, which appears as *Shiva-Shakti Tattva* from the evoluting aspect or the *Shakti-Shiva Tattva* from the involuting aspect. *Vedânta* philosophy also holds that mind and matter are essentially and fundamentally One.

The word *Jagat*, meaning the experience of the phenomenal universe, is derived from a root that signifies " to go," so *Jagat* is that which goes or moves for ever. The psychical process of apprehension by subject consciousness of presentations is also a ceaseless moving process. The world-process, according to the *Shâstra*, owes its origin to motion (*Spandana*), which may be analysed into attraction and repulsion; and so it is said to be rhythmic, or coiling and uncoiling like the hairspring of a watch. This, according to Dr. Eriksen, ultimately became the cause for the generation of the ideas of quality and quantity respectively of such presentations in the abstract sense (attraction having the character of force and repulsion that of energy). This is also ascribed to be the cause of periodicity in phenomenality. Thus the going of the *Jagat* is to be interpreted as a motion round a centre. Now the question is, to find out this centre, in relation to which all cosmic motions are apprehended as simultaneities. This idea of simultaneity, which is a conception always with reference to the activity of *Asmitâ*, we shall see later on, brings on the feeling of four-dimensionality through the sensation of velocity of motion. The motion of *Jagat* or phenomenality, as empirically experienced by us, is in relation to the Self a wakeful presence. Accordingly this conception of Self, called "self-feeling," is the real centre sought for, and this in *Shâstrik* language is called *Asmitâ* or awakened Self. Thus this experience of Self has been denominated by "Vedanta" as *Sutrâtmâ* or *Kshetrajña, i.e.*, the basis of perception and preservation of the show of phenomenality. But the *Shaiva* and the *Shâkta Āgamas* call Him *Shiva*, which is practically phaseless *Chit* or the everlasting awakened Reality; because He is unreproducible as object any more. Such an idea is conveyed by the modern theory of relativity by the phrase "Absolute World."

From the foregoing discussions it is easy to conclude that knowledge derived from the apprehension of a presentation is more persistent than the substantive presentation itself. The *Shâstra* says that the ultimate Reality is Supreme Experience, a term which of course includes all *Sangskâra* or tendencies acquired in prior lives (since creation is beginningless and since the *Mâyîya Mala* seldom subsides altogether). Does not this savour of Darwinism in the theory of evolution or the theory of Reincarnation? Thus these tendencies may be treated as superpositions on Consciousness or Reality. But what is the first apprehension of revived and awakened Consciousness while evolving—surely it is *Asmitâ* or the concept of "I-ness" designated by Dr. Eriksen as "self-feeling." The subjective apprehension of *Asmitâ* as Self is no doubt different from the apprehension of any objective presentation at this stage of evolution even. It forms the root of the unobjectifiable Ego on the subjective side of a psychological process. So that this *Asmitâ*, the psychic presence as reality, became the first manifestation of *Chit* as *Shiva*, which was perceived through His assuming a waking attitude as *Shiva-tattva*, but waking to what—at first to noumenality and then to phenomenality. This is how the Subject saw that he had got an active or Power aspect called *Shakti-tattva*. This *Asmitâ* or *Shiva-tattva* is called the psychologically subjective and awakened aspect of Reality; *i.e.*, this is the psychic and subjective aspect of wakeful Consciousness or *Chit*, that began to see the universe, whether unmanifest or manifest, as different from Him,[1] which is consequently different from Supreme Experience in Its true form.

The *Shāstra* gives various etymological interpretations of the term *Shiva* or awakened Reality. Some of these have been enumerated by Nîlkantha Dîkshit in his commentary on "Shiva-tattva Rahasya"; a short summary thereof is as follows:—

(*a*) *Shiva* = *Shobhana* = *Sarvajñatva*, etc. He, who has got the attribute of all-knowingness (*Sarvajñatva*), etc., is called Shiva; since the "Shiva Purâna" says:—

(8) "*Sarvajñatâ triptiranâdibodhah*
Svatantratâ nityamalupta-shaktih
Anantashaktishcha Vibhorvidhijñah
Shadâhurangâni Maheshvarasya."

All-knowingness (*Sarvajñatâ*), contentment (*Tripti*), that which is eternally conscious (*Anâdibodha*), the state of being purely self-dependent (*Svatantratâ*), ceaseless perception of conserved Shakti (*Nitya-alupta-Shakti*) and the feeling of being the possessor of unlimited Powers: these are the six limbs of all-pervading *Maheshvara*, as has been stated by those who are conversant with the divine precepts (as opposed to *Arthavâda*):

(*b*) He is called *Shiva*, because He illumines from being pure: His purity is due to the absence of the three *Malas* (*Ânava*, *Kârmana*, *Mâyîya*), to which the *Jîva* is ever subject; these *Malas* of course appear after the awakening of Supreme Experience: the "Vâyavîya Sanghitâ" says:—

(9) "*Athavâshesha-kalyâna-gunaika-ghana Îshvarah*
Shiva ityuchyate sadbhih Shiva-tattvârtha-vedibhih"

Those sages, who know the true meaning of Shiva-tattva, call that *Îshvara* or *Shiva*, which is the sole condensed Being, possessing unlimited attributes to do good only. The said work further says :—

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[1] See Shloka (3).

(10) "*Anâdi-mala-sangshlesha prâgbhâvât svabhâvatah*
Atyanta-parishuddhâtmetyato'yang Shiva uchyate"

The Being, whose very nature represents the stage previous to Its becoming associated with the *Mala* (which is the condition in evolution, and the beginning of such association is due to the subjectification of the first presentation, but impossible to be exactly assigned as creation is beginningless), is extreme purity itself, that pervades everywhere, and so He is called *Shiva* :

(*c*) "*Shete'smin sarvam,*" *i.e.*, the whole universe rests in Him, therefore He is called Shiva (*Shi*+*Van*). The resting place of *Chit-Shakti* is *Paramashiva*, and this *Chit-Shakti* is the real cause of every manifestation ; *i.e.*, apart from Her being the material cause, *Shakti* is also the instrumental cause for the manifestation of the universe as it is :

(*d*) *Sham*+*Kvan*+*I.* which means that which is beyond the active aspect, *i.e.*, the changeless static Being behind the changefulness : (*Sham*=To be calm or appeased) :

(*e*) *Vasha*+*Ach* : By transposing the letters and replacing *A* by *I* we get *Shiva* : *Vasha* means Will ; so *Shiva* is the reservoir of the prime Will, which latter is *Parâshakti* in the form of *Chit* :

(*f*) "*Vashti lokahitam,*" that which wishes the good of the universe :

(*g*) "*Shivam mangalang karoti*" that which does good to *Jíva*.

The above are all definitions of *Sakala Shiva*, the first assumer of awakened, subjective aspect, but there is also a *Nishkala* aspect of Him ; which the "Shruti" defines as :—

(11) "*Nishkalang nishkriyang shântang niravadyang niranjanam*"

He is partless. He is without activity. He is changeless. He is without any *Dosha* and without any *Mala*. The *Nishkala* aspect is attributeless, so it is said :—

(12) "*Srishtyarthang sarvaiattvânâng lokasyotpatti-kâranât*
Yogînâm-upakârâya svechchhayâ grihnate tanum
Tathaiva yogînânchâpi jnânînâng mantrinâmapi
Japa-pûjâ-nimittâya nishkalang sakalang bhavet "

He, out of His own free Will, assumes forms for the purpose of evolving the thirty-six *Tattva*, for causing the rise into existence of the creation of the universe, and for the benefit of those who practice *Yoga.* Similarly for assisting in the performance of *Japa* and worship by the *Yogî*, the wise men and those who practice recitation of *Mantra*, *Nishkala Shiva* manifests as *Sakala*. This shows that *Nishkala Shiva*, by adopting the *Guna* (attributes) of *Parâshakti*, may become *Sakala* or *Saguna*. All this is possible after awakening.

Of course active Reality or Consciousness is a perennially awakened principle. But in the dreamless-Sleep state It is introspective Supreme Experience, for want of apprehension of any presentation due to complete abstraction; although Its content is perfection of Experience all the time. In the dream state, It becomes engaged in some sort of preconceived presentations. But in the waking state, It is ever busy in apprehending presentations, that at first appear as arising out of the existence of Self and ultimately happen quite externally to the cognizing principle. Thus the awakening of Reality, when denominated as *Shiva*, may be properly interpreted as the awakening for the apprehension of the flux of world-manifestation, *i.e.*, when Its introspection attains tendency to go outward. This state is called "*Sakala-bhuvano-daya-sthiti-laya-maya-lîla-vinodanodyuktah*," that is the state of being "ever wakeful in the blissful play of the repeated acts of Creation, Maintenance and Dissolution of all the worlds which issue from Him." He is mere illumination and the conserved *Shakti* remains merged in Him in this state.

BEPINBEHARI NEWGIE

THE MESSAGE OF THE BUDDHA

Blessed are the full moon, the Visakha star,
The month Vaisakh and the seat of Kapila,
When and where thou wast born, O Buddha
And blessed became the land of Bharata :
Thou, O Royal Prince and yet a friend of Bhikshus !
Never thy glory shall cease on earth.

Many think life is a hollow dream,
But become immersed in worldliness ;
Thou disentangling thyself in youth
And overcoming passion showed the truth :
In thy youth the renunciation thou tookest
Proved the excellence of self-abnegation.

" The physician of the soul," " The eldest best brother "
called,
O the subduer of sense's lust in temptation,
Serene in heart and holy in life,
In conduct stern regarding thy own self,
But to all else around thee thou
Most gentle in sympathy and compassion.

Thy words of nectar-sweetness unheard of before,
Of compassion to every life without distinction
And abstention from violence that thou didst teach,
Hearing the hard-hearted abject became kind :
" Observing *ahimsa* to every living thing,
My brothers, enter the perfection of self."

Heart overflowing with charity for all,
Every life was holy in thy thought,
Good man or bad or the lowest creature

Thou didst entwine all in equal love :
—If one raises his hand on the least of them
The sword of righteousness trembles in sheath.

" Meeting unlove with unlove unloving cannot cease,
Love only engenders love ;
Loving only transmutes strife to peace,
Hearken the Supreme wisdom this,"—
Thou didst proclaim to men,
—The world's salvation lies in observing it.

The friend of the poor, the loved of the good !
The truth and just thought that thou didst teach,
And just act and resolve that should be,
Hearing many became gentle and good ;
Thousands of men, thousands of thousands of them,
Even thy father became a Bhikshu and thy disciple.

Bandits many and rich *Sreshthis* that were
Observing the majesty of thy life and character
Turned good and righteous in thy time ;
Even a courtezan became a living saint ;
Offering her riches at thy feet
Ambapali became memorable in her age.

Acts of man from birth to birth
Never quenched his attachment of work,
But fanned the desire to be born again ;
—Cause and effect, effect and cause,
Round and round revolving in a circle,
In meditation thou sawest his comings and goings.

If man is born now, was born before,
Will be born again, though some sages taught,
Suffering is concomitant with birth none thought :

Thou alone didst discern it,—"Tathagata" called,
And seek the remedy and find—
Merging in Brahma, unborn and that dies not.

The riddle of life thou didst solve at last:
Mysteriously upon thy consciousness dawned
The wondrous light of Nirvana,—
Dispelled the old stored-up darkness within:
Ineffable joy filling the heart
Release from birth and death thou didst proclaim.

In Nature everything happens by fixed laws,
The same laws govern the life of man,
Nothing happens, thou sawest, without a cause;
The present is the fruit of a former life,
It will be the seed of a future one,
Acts make or unmake its character.

Countless lives thus men have passed,
Countless more they shall have to live,
Thoughts and acts again and again
Inevitably fetter them to births,
All through Maya clouding the understanding
Of desire and body's inalienable relation.

No desire, no body's need,
No body, no need of birth,
By overcoming the desire in life
Man's sorrow and suffering shall cease;
In the Primal Spirit he shall merge
Never more to go out thence.

What amazing secret thou didst discover
That cloud break the chain of birth and death
That rising from spiritual meditation

Thou exclaimedest, thou wouldst stop body's building,
Wouldst not be fettered to birth and death ?
—Such wondrous mystery none knows up to now.

What secret wisdom thou didst teach ?
—The profoundest ever revealed to man,—
If man would refuse to live as man
He would live as God, freed from birth and death.
Such news of excelling joy and ever unheard
To the world was like a fairy tale.

Self-extinction thou didst not teach,
Self-extension thou didst not preach,
But the giving up of all that belongs to it ;
A deeper apprehension of the mystery of existence,
Through knowledge world's deliverance from sorrow and suffering,
—Thy teaching not marked by breadth but depth of mentality.

Unfettered from birth, Nirvana-attained,
Thou wentest out to preach world's good,—
Desireless act and desireless *Sadhana*
In which man is not fettered to act :
No desire for crop—no need of field,
No birth—no act, no act—no birth.

Despite work was not by thee forbidden,
But unselfish work springing up in abundance
From man descended to the lowest life :
Thy golden rule of life and conduct
Is as the code of conduct for men and nations
And bystander of their restraint and kindness now.

Work thou didst never abolish, but rather
Proclaimedest the new religion of loving work :
"Observing all rites and fasts and kneeling all day

Are fruitless all, but rising up with work in hand,
Helping the sick, the poor and in distress
Ever let thy stream of life be flowed out."

"Of all renunciations of thy self is the best,
Of all gifts of thy life is the highest ;
In such renunciation and such gift
Reward's enjoyment cup is smashed ;
Thus shalt thou rest in Brahma then
Merged as a water drop in the ocean."

The kind in act and the meek in heart
Shall inherit the earth is told :
Thy life, O Buddha, proves the truth ;
If all are not associated with thy name
Yet thy lovable life and teaching quaint
Aptly go to become the rule of life of men.

" My body will perish, but not the Buddha,
He will live for ever in his message of love,
Be not unconsoled because I die," to thy disciples thou saidst :
In the fulfilment of the truth of thy utterance
The kingdom of God shall be established on earth—
In Truth-Eternal. Wisdom-Brahma all shall dwell.

Whoever came near were charmed
By thy unique personality, and hearing thy teaching
The learned bowed at thy feet as also common men,
The rich and the poor all, as if they found a priceless treasure :

Leaving their dear relatives and homes
Went out to serve the world for thy attachment.
Inspired by the majesty of thy teaching

To many a land thy disciples went ;
Hearing thy peerless message they preached,
Seeing their selfless lives, saintly character,
Many believed in thy teaching then,—
More Buddhists than other believers are on earth so still.

Like other messiahs never claimedest relation to Brahma
But in godly virtues thou becamest adored of men ;
The virtuous and evil-livers everywhere all
Contemplating thy transcending life and character,
Overflowing with high reverence and love,
Feel happy as if they are thy disciples all.

G. C. GHOSH

THE INDIAN JUDGE

(*A Comparative Study.*)

The judge occupies a pre-eminent position in the modern state. He is the guardian of the rights and privileges of the people against the encroachment of private persons and the aggression of executive officers. His function consists in interpreting the laws of the country, and applying them to individual cases. He has got to settle not only private disputes but bring under review executive action. Now the way he discharges his duty is of vital importance to the people. The legislature may lay down good and whole-some laws. But they would not be of any avail if they are not ably, promptly, and impartially applied. Without right administration of justice, good government is out of the question. " There is no better test of the excellence of a government than the efficiency of its judicial system, for nothing more nearly touches the welfare and security of the average citizen."[1] Indeed, as Laski says, " There is rarely a better index to the quality of the state-life than the justice it offers to its citizens."[2]

Now to attain efficiency in judicial administration " We require legal knowledge and skill, impartiality, incorruptibility and independence in the persons forming the judicial tribunals."[3] Without looking to the interest of any, without consulting personal profit or party gain, without grinding national or communal axe, the judge has got to decide a case on its own merits. He is no respector of persons. Neither the smile nor the frown of any authority, however high, may influence his verdict. For his judicial decision, he must be independent of all external control. "For what they (judges) do in the process of making and applying law, they must be answerable to no one except their own conscience."[1]

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[1] Lord Bryce—Quoted by Munro in the Governments of Europe, p. 512.

[2] A Grammar of Politics, p. 128.

[3] Henry Sidgwick—Elements of Politics, p. 456.

In order to secure this independence of the judiciary, both Locke and Montesquieu advocated the complete Separation of Powers which they thought "to be the secret of freedom."[2] The three branches of Government, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, must be separated and clearly distinguished from one another. They must constitute practically three independent air-tight compartments. Their combination any way would be fatal to the liberty of the citizen. "When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates," observes Montesquieu, "there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner."

"Again, there is no liberty," continues the same authority, "if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control; for the judge would be then the legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression."[3] This doctrine held long the imagination of the people of Europe and America. It seemed to have enshrined all political wisdom. In the constitutional practices of the present day world, however, there has been a wide departure from this principle. So far as the relations between the executive and the legislature are concerned, the doctrine has been completely thrown overboard in the leading States of Europe. They have adopted parliamentary form of government in which the executive and the legislature are not only not separate, but the executive is really a committee of the legislature.

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[1] H. J. Laski—A Grammar of Politics, p 129.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 104. Also see Gettel—History of Political Thought, p. 254.

[3] The Spirit of Laws, Vol. I, p. 163, Translated by T. Nugent.

But, however, modified the principle of separation of powers may have been in actual constitutional operation, the fact remains that the judiciary should be, in all respects, immune from any external control. In this aspect of the problem, the assertion of Montesquieu still enshrines the vital truth. Neither the executive nor the legislature should be given any opportunity to interfere with the independence of the judge. "It is the business of the judge to be the task-master of the executive. He has to see that its interpretation of its powers is never so elastic that it either arrogates novelty to itself or bears unequally upon the body of citizens. To such ends as these, it follows that every executive act should be open to the scrutiny in the courts ; and the decision of the judiciary should always be binding upon the executive unless the legislature otherwise resolves."[1] We thus can at once see that "to make it (the judiciary) in any sense subordinate to the executive is to make impossible the performance of the most urgent function within its province."[2] The combination of judicial and executive powers is clearly inadmissible, for in that case the judicial decision will only cloak the executive tyranny. The judicial power will only be used to subserve executive expediency. The administrator may launch upon a certain line of action for reasons of state. An independent judge may declare it illegal and set it at naught. But in case, the administrator himself was to interpret the Law, he would certainly interpret it in favour of his own executive action.

Now if we are to take away the judges altogether out of the influence of the legislature and the executive, the logical system would be to vest their election in the sovereign people. Neither the legislative organ nor the executive body should have anything to do with their appointment.[3] Many of the American States, imbued with extreme democratic tendencies, have accepted this principle of popular election.[1] In France also during the revolutionary days, the judges had to be elected directly by the people. The Revolution preferred this system only to ensure the reciprocal independence of the different branches of Government.[2] But the "elected judges run the risk, in the administration of justice, of being at the mercy of their electors. They may be led to favour their friends or seek to avenge themselves upon their enemies."[3] Besides, the judges, to be efficient, would require some kind of specialised skill and experience. But "these qualities cannot be regularly obtained by any system of popular election."[4] The popular electors do not constitute the fit body to sift out the technical qualifications of the different candidates in an impartial, scientific and judicial spirit. They would simply be swayed by other extraneous forces and the persons they would elect would much often make square pegs in round holes. Merit will have no chance of being rewarded. It is, therefore, a truism, as John Stuart Mill observes that "of all officers of Government, those in whose appointment any participation of popular suffrage is the most objectionable are judicial officers. While there are no functionaries whose special and professional qualifications the popular judgment is less fitted to estimate, there are none in whose case absolute impartiality, and freedom from connection with politicians, or sections of politicians, are of anything like equal importance."[5] In actual operation, the system of elective judges has been found wanting in the American States. Proper persons have not been elevated to the bench and as a result the character of the judiciary has been almost hopelessly lowered. The principle of popular election which was once advocated to ensure the independence of the judges has now succeeded only in inducing timidity and discouraging their independence.[1]

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[1] Laski—A Grammar of Politics, p. 298.

[2] *Ibid.*,p. 300.

[3] Burgess—Political Science and Constitutional Law, Vol. II, p. 322.

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[1] Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. 1, p. 505.

[2] R. Poincare—How France is governed, p. 234.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

[4] Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 520.

[5] Representative Government.

Nor has the system of legislative election fared any better. A few of the American States have required their legislature to elect the judges.[2] The judges of the Swiss Federal Court also are elected by the Federal Assembly.[3] But "election by modern legislatures means party elections, and party judges are bad judges. The very conditions of election by party are the negation of the judicial frame of mind."[4] In fact, as Professor Laski urges, "either popular election as in America, or Legislative election as in Switzerland, is neither of them adequate. Appointment by the executive has, on the whole, produced the best results."[5] The framers of the American constitution were all imbued with the spirit of the doctrine of the separation of powers. But even the statesmen of such political conviction gave the executive head of the state all initiative in matters of federal judicial appointment. "All the judges of the courts of the Central Government are nominated by the President, confirmed by senate, and commissioned by the President."[6] It certainly testifies to the wisdom of their action that the people of America to-day have more faith and confidence in the federal judges appointed by the executive than in the state judges elected directly by the people.[7]

In most European countries as well, judicial appointment is made by the executive. In France, the experiment that was made during the revolutionary regime has been abandoned and it is the executive that now nominates the judges.[8] Thus the land of Montesquieu himself, the exponent of the principle of separation of powers, has refused to undertake the luxury of elective judges.

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[1] Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 507. Also see J. R. Marriott—The Mechanism of the Modern State, Vol. II, pp. 309-312.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 505.

[3] J. M. Vincent—Government in Switzerland, p. 203.

[4] R. N. Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, p. 131.

[5] A Grammar of Politicians, p. 302.

[6] Burgess—Political Science, etc., Vol. II, p. 322.

[7] Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, pp. 271-2.

[8] R. Poincare—How France is governed, p. 235.

In Britain also, the judges are appointed by the executive. There are no elective judges in the country.[1] Moreover the supreme judicial officer, the Lord Chancellor, occupies, at the same time, the portfolio of justice in the supreme executive body, the cabinet. In him, therefore, the executive and the judiciary meet, and to this extent, the principle of separation of powers has been frankly given the go-bye. All other judges in the state are appointed by him. It might be surmised that this arrangement would make the judiciary a hand-maid of the executive, that the judges would be obliged, under the circumstances, to serve the exigencies of executive administration. But "leading American lawyers and judges have frequently paid tribute to the independence, promptness and impartiality with which justice is administered by English tribunals. One reason can be found in the position of absolute independence which all the judges of English courts enjoy. All of them are appointed and hold office for life."[2]

The question of the tenure of office now, therefore, comes out prominent. It is "of the greatest importance in determining independence; a precarious tenure has a tendency to work against independent action; a permanent tenure encourages it."[3] Of the three branches of Government, the judiciary is naturally the weakest. The executive dispenses the honours and holds the sword of the community. The legislature commands the purse and prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are regulated. The judiciary, however, has no influence over either the sword or the purse. It is, therefore, in constant danger of being influenced and overpowered by the other two branches of Government. Now to counteract this influence and to follow a straight path of its own, it requires permanency in office which contributes the most to its firmness and independence. "That inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the constitution and of individuals, which we perceive, to be indespensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence."[1]

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[1] Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 277. See also Lowell—The Government of Eng., Vol. II, p. 451.

[2] Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 277.

[3] R. M. Dawson—The Principle of Official Independence, p. 16.

"On the whole it seems best that judges in all grades should ordinarily hold office during good behaviour."[2] They must not hold office during the pleasure of the Executive or the Legislature. That would simply make the judiciary subservient to either of the other two branches of Government—an undesirable contingency. Once appointed, they should hold office for life. Nor should they look to the executive for their promotion in office and emoluments. "Promotion by the executive from a lower grade to higher may be as dangerous to independence as the power of dismissal, since it would be practically much easier for the executive to reward judicial subserviency by promotion than to punish its opposite by dismissal."[3] Now whichever body would determine the future promotion of the judges would control, to a great extent, their will and conscience. It is, therefore, a good system, accepted in many modern countries that there must be no promotion in the judiciary. Promotion in office constitutes no doubt an excellent incentive to the earnest spirits in any service. In the case of the judiciary however, it would do more harm than good. "It may be taken as a general rule that the promotion of an efficient public official is an excellent thing for the man himself, for his fellow officials, and the public service as a whole. The conspicuous exception to this rule is the judiciary.''[1]

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[1] The Federalist—No : 78.

[2] Sidgwick—Elements of Politics, p. 464.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 465.

In the U. S. A. all the Federal Judges hold office during good behaviour, *i.e.*, are removable only by impeachment.[2] The judges are appointed to a fixed post on a fixed salary. They labour under no fear of a transfer from one post to another for a decision not to the liking of the executive.[3] Nor do they expect any favour at its hand for any action after its mind. Neither hope of promotion, nor fear of degradation affects their independence.[4] In the British judiciary, also, there is no promotion system. The inferior judges, however, can be removed from the bench at the instance of the Lord Chancellor. The amount of protection given to the lower grade federal judges of the U. S. A. is thus to some extent denied to their British compeers. The Supreme Court judges, however, can be removed only on an address of both Houses of Parliament.[5] In France also both by law and by usage, security of judicial tenure has been well established.[6] But the promotion system which has been put down as dangerous to judicial independence constitutes the very basis of the French judicial organisation. ''All judicial posts except the very lowest are filled by promotion.''[7]

This elevation of the judges from a lower to a higher grade in France, of course, does not depend wholly upon the freaks of the executive. The minister of justice determines it, only with the help of an expert commission. But it cannot be said that extraneous influence and back-stairs pressure have no bearing

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[1] R. M. Dawson—The Principle of Official Independence, pp. 58-59.

[2] Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 220.

[3] The Italian higher judiciary suffers considerably from this difficulty, and its independence is, of course, correspondingly impaired. See A. L. Lowell—Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol. I, p. 177.

[4] Bryce—The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 231.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[6] Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 526.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 520.

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upon it.. In fact, other factors, than seniority and merit, much, often decide the future of a judge. This is certainly not a congenial atmosphere for the growth of judicial independence and impartiality. The efficacy of the principle, therefore, that the judges should be appointed to a fixed post on a fixed salary is still unquestioned.

Now once the judge is given an opportunity to exercise his independence, we should see how his efficiency can be ensured. Without thorough legal knowledge and skill, none on the bench can do full justice to his duty. Before, therefore, a person is elevated to the bench, he should be expected to possess a thorough grounding in the legal principles and practices. Both in England and the United States, the judges are recruited from practising lawyers of sufficient experience and standing. And for the higher courts in England, the judges "are habitually taken from the leading men at the bar." This promotion from the bar to the bench is natural and easy and at the same time it contributes most to the efficiency of the judges. Practising and experienced lawyers not only possess a good grasp of the scientific principles of law but at the same time get accustomed to legal procedure. They live and move in legal atmosphere and surroundings. They remain behind the scene long enough to see through the subtlety of cases and get at the kernel of truth. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that they alone should be elevated to the bench. In fact "an appointment to the bench is regarded by most lawyers as the crowning stage of a successful career at the bar."[2] The high honour and dignity that attach to a judicial position are always inviting to the able and ambitious among the lawyers. Again in the interests of justice and fair dealing, good relations between the bench and the bar are indispensable. Now these can be easily ensured if the leading members of the bar are promoted, as a matter of course, to the bench. A lawyer-judge has naturally a good deal of sympathy

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[1] Lowell—The Government of England, Vol. II, p. 469.

[2] Munro—The Governments of Europe, p. 519.

and respect for the profession to which he once belonged.[1] The bar also has a good amount of regard for the position now occupied by one of its own leading ex-members. This mutual respect and sympathy also inspires popular confidence in the judiciary. From the bar to the bench, it is therefore, a most natural step.

In the 18th century, the administrative system had absolutely broken down in India. "Lack of governance" was the pre-eminent feature of the time. The collapse of the mighty Moghul Empire had let loose all the forces of separatism and sectionalism in the country and heralded the Great Anarchy with all its horrid results. The East India Company, that was gradually stepping into the shoes of the Great Moghuls could not, for some time, grasp the full significance of its new position. In Bengal it remained, for many years, in power without responsibility. And even a high British Officer in India who has traced the rise of the Company's power in this country, has been constrained to observe that these years of misrule constitute "the only period of Anglo-Indian history which throws grave and unpardonable discredit on the English name."[2] At last the situation became so grave that not only the Company's Directors themselves had to be prepared to face administrative responsibility but His Majesty's Government also began to interfere in Indian affairs and "regulate" Indian administration. But it was not possible to transplant overnight a cut and dried governmental system to the Indian soil. The Britishers were new to this country and unfamiliar with its social traditions, cultural background and economic system. Without a thorough and systematic exploration of administrative and economic facts it was not possible for the Company to impose a ready-made administrative structure upon India. All that the East India Company could do during the first half-century of its rule was to make administrative experiments. Most of its governmental measures were naturally tentative in character. No step could be taken all at once on a permanent basis. The crying need of the hour was strong government. The resurrection of law and order was the prime duty of the administration. In this matter, the Company's government occupied the same position in India which Henry VII, the first Tudor, occupied in England after the Wars of the Roses. The forces of disorder that were now devastating the land had to be checked and subdued and an administrative structure was to be reared that would guard against the anarchical traditions of the last one century. For the discharge of this duty of the hour, a corpse of strong and efficient officers was indispensable and it stands to the credit of Lord Cornwallis that he was able to roll back the tide of corruption among the Company's officers and instil into them a new spirit and a new ideal. He was successful in creating a true civil service for administering the Company's affairs and putting it on a sound and solid basis. [1] Cornwallis, of course, " had no belief in Indian agency and narrowed the field of their employment." [2] It was a settled policy with him to make the Company's service a close preserve for his countrymen. The Charter Act of 1793 made this policy sacrosanct and shut out the Indians altogether from any honourable administrative ambition. [3]

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[1] "The Federal judge who has recently quitted the ranks of the bar remains in sympathy with it, respects its views, desires its approbation." Bryce—The American Common-wealth, Vol. I, p. 265.

[2] Sir Alfred Lyall—British Dominion in India (1905), p. 143. Also see L. S. S. O'Malley—History of Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule, p. 198. "It was essential to discontinue the vicious system under which the company was a kind of sleeping partner, receiving revenue without assuming responsibility."

Now in those rough and troublous days, if the prestige and majesty of the Government were to be upheld, its officers must act with promptitude and vigour. Concentration of energy and effort was essential for the rapid discharge of duty. Niceties of modern administration were out of place in that age of turmoil. The doctrine of the separation of powers which was coming into vogue at the time in Europe and America, could not fit in with the Indian situation. Concentration of powers and authority and unity of command were the principles advocated and mostly accepted.[1]

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[1] P. E. Roberts—History of British India (1921), pp. 225-27.

[2] O'Malley—History of Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule, p. 282.

[3] Sec. 57 of the Statute 33, Geo., III, C 52. See the Public Service Commission Report (1886-87), p. 11.

When Lord Cornwallis came out to India in 1786, he promptly united the functions of civil and criminal judge with those of an executive and revenue officer. The collectors were made "civil judges and magistrates also."[2] After a few years of his stay in this country, however, Cornwallis changed his mind and was convinced of the incompatibility of judicial and executive functions, combined in the Revenue officers.[3] This step, of course, was not final. During the first decades of the Company's Administration, everything was, as a matter of course, on an experimental basis. Now all the functions of Government were vested in one body, now they were to a certain extent at least, divided and separated.[4] Any way the tendency was towards union and not separation of powers.

For administrative convenience, no doubt, Civil Judicial functions were at last permanently separated from general administation and vested in the District Judges. Criminal justice, however, remained combined with Police and executive powers.[5] In the year 1829, some new offices were created in the persons of the Commissioners. Each of them was to be in charge of four or five districts, and, in addition to revenue work was to go out in circuit as session judge.[6] The supreme control over the Police was also vested in these officers [1] so that the Commissioners became responsible at once for higher criminal justice and supreme police duties. The executive and judicial functions were combined in their hands. A few years later, some changes, of course, were introduced and the higher criminal justice was taken away from the hands of the Divisional Commissioners and made over to the District Judges.[2] This was a reform in the right direction. But while higher criminal justice was mostly separated from executive duty, lower criminal justice remained combined with police functions. The District Collectors were the Controllers of the Police and at the same time discharged the magisterial duties.

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[1] Joseph Chailley—Administrative Problems of British India, pp. 442-43.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[3] Section I of Regulation II of 1793 passed by the Governor-General in Council; see the Separation of Judicial from Executive Duties in British India, edited by P. C. Ray, p. 12.

[4] Before the regime of Wellesley the G. G. in Council was the highest court of the Company. But Wellesley did away with this arrangement. Sec O'Malley, p. 203.

[5] Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, p. 38.

[6] O'Malley—Bengal, Behar and Orissa under British Rule, p. 351.

This combination of powers, this "patriarchal" [3] form of justice might have suited the Indian situation during early British rule, when strong government was the prime necessity of the day. It was, however, quite out of tune with the political condition of India in the thirties of the last century. The people of the older provinces had now been accustomed, for over half a century, to stable government. Anarchical forces had been exorcised and law and order definitely established. It was time that judicial and executive powers which had been concentrated in single hands should now be completely separated. The union of criminal justice with police function might have been warranted in unsettled times, but its continuance in normal peaceful days was only an unhealthy anomaly. There were even British Officers in the service of the Company who brought out into bold relief the mischief that was being committed every day under the system. "The union of Magistrate with Collector has been stigmatized as incompatible, but" observed Sir Frederick Halliday in 1838, "the function of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice. So long as it lasts, the public confidence in our criminal tribunals must always be liable to injury, and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied."[1] The Magistrate was Constable, Prosecutor, and Judge all in one. He was to prevent crime, apprehend and prosecute offenders, and himself sit in judgment upon their alleged offence. As a judge, he was expected to bring a fresh and open mind while trying a case. Entrusted, however, as he was with executive and police functions also, this unbiassed and unprejudiced attitude was out of the question. As a prosecutor, his natural tendency was towards taking for granted the guilt of the prosecuted person. Sitting on the bench in a different capacity, he could not certainly shake off the prejudice already formed in his mind.[2] Hence "to secure justice, an unbiassed judge who has no responsibility for the prosecution, seems indispensable."[3]

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[1] Gilchrist—Separation of etc., p. 37.

[2] See O'Malley—Bengal, etc., p. 351. (In some districts, however, the Commissioner of the Division remained still vested with judicial duties. See the Autobiography of Nabin Chandra Sen, Vol. II, pp. 269-70.)

Cf., also Sir Henry Cotton—Indian and Home Memories (1911), p. 163.

" By a very objectionable arrangement, which was shortly afterwards set aside, the Commissioner of Chittagong exercised all the functions of District and Sessions Judge."

[3] Sir Richard Temple—Men and Events of my time in India (1882), p. 74.

The District Officer in 1837 was certainly saddled with too heavy a responsibility and unless he was relieved of some of his duties even the camel's back would be broken. Now the duties that should have been taken away from him were the judical functions which he was discharging with such a detriment to the character of Justice. Illogically, however, the Government separated from his charge the revenue functions which were now vested in a separate officer, the Collector, while he remained still endowed with both judicial and police functions.[1]

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[1] Minute of dissent in the Report of the Committee which sat in 1837 to draw up a plan for the more efficient organisation of the police. See the Separation of Judicial from Executive functions. Edited by P. C. Ray, p. 14.

[2] A British I.C.S. Officer gave the following piece of precious advice to young Nabin Chandra Sen : "So long as you do not get any contrary evidence, you should regard every defendant as guilty." See Nabin Chandra Sen's Autobiography, Vol. II, p. 15.

[3] Sidgwick—Elements of Politics, p. 477.

This arrangement also did not last long. Administrative exigencies again demanded some kind of reshuffling of the system. In the year 1853, Sir Cecil Beadon, then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, submitted a note in which he advocated the reunion of the magisterial with revenue functions.[2] This set the ball rolling.. A long drawn out struggle now began between two of the ablest of the Company's Officers with regard to the question of the separation of powers. Sir Frederick Halliday had already changed his front and gone back on his views of 1838. He was now a zealous convert to the Oriental theory of government enunciated by Sir Cecil Beadon.[3] He now resisted vehemently the contention of Sir John Peter Grant that the only separation, not only desirable but indispensable, was that between the executive and judical powers. Sir Frederick held that in India this logical separation would be simply disastrous in its effect. It would wound the prestige and self-respect of the district officers and bring the administration into contempt among the Indians.[4] This controversy raged for some years at a stretch and at last the matter was taken up by the Police Commission of 1860.

The Government of India were not altogether unmindful of the incongruous combination of judicial and executive functions in the same hands. In issuing Instructions to the Police Commission, it pointed out that "the functions of a Police are either protective and repressive or detective, to prevent crime and disorder, or to find out criminals and disturbers of the peace. These functions are in no respect judicial. This rule requires a complete severance of the Police from the Judicial authorities, whether those of higher grade or the inferior magistracy in their judicial capacity.''[1] The Police Commission also noticed the anomaly of such a union of powers and recommended that as a rule the official who was to collect and trace out the links of evidence, and prosecute the offender should on no account sit in judgment on the case. While this was the general opinion of the members of the Commission they had not the courage to follow it up to its logical extent. They made an exception in favour of the District Officer: While other magistrates must be shorn of all their connection with the Police, the District Magistrate must still remain vested with supervisory and controlling authority over this institution.[2] Thus the separation of judicial from executive functions was to be arrested half way. And we shall soon find that even the concession that was made to the demand for separation came to nothing under our administrative arrangement.

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[1] Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, pp. 38, 44.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 45,

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

On the basis of the recommendations of the Police Commission, an Act was passed by the Government of India in 1861. It confirmed the union of judicial and executive functions in the hands of the District Officers. " The actual executive control of the Police passed to the Superintendent of Police, but his work in the detection and prevention of crime was supervised by the District Magistrate, who also tried criminal cases." [3] Now and again attempts have been made since then to separate the functions and make the judiciary an independent branch of Government. [4] And once at least this question came within practical politics. In 1906, Sir Harvey Adamson, the Home Member of the Government of India, adumbrated, at his own instance, a scheme before the Legislative Council. Here he pointed out that the Government were going at last to introduce the much desired separation step by step. He also informed the Council that the experiment would be made first in Bengal.[1] Ultimately however, everything ended in smoke. Nothing came out of all this. The District Magistrate, even to-day, is not only the executive head of the district, but also controls the minor criminal justice within the area. This arrangement has been maintained chiefly on the plea that the prestige and influence of the District Officers would suffer considerably if judicial powers were taken out of their hands.

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[1] The Separation of Judicial from Executive duties in British India, Edited by P. C. Ray, pp. 27-28.

[2] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[3] Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Powers, pp. 92-3.

[4] In the year 1899, a memorial signed by Lord Hobhouse and others was presented to the Secretary of State pointing out the anomaly of combining Executive with Judicial business.

They are, so to say, the "Mainstay" and the "Keystone" of British administration in India. Upon their power and prestige, the whole fabric rests. And in case, their hands come to be weakened the whole British administrative system would collapse all on a sudden.[2] "The District Magistrate who is the eye and ear of Government should hold in his hands all the threads of the different branches of the administration, and should have the officials in all those branches under his general control."[3]

Now the District Officer, as a first class Magistrate, "can pass sentences of imprisonment up to two years and of fine up to Rs. 1,000." Besides, the District Magistrate is an appellate Judge as well. "From a conviction by a second or third class Magistrate an appeal lies to the District Magistrate."[4] In his capacity as the District Magistrate he has also certain powers of control over all other Local Magistrates.[5] He can transfer a case from the file of one to that of another Magistrate. He has also the right to call for and look over their records. And what is more important than the rest is the fact that the future of other Magistrates considerably depends upon his opinions about them.

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[1] Gilchrist, p. 122.

[2] See the extract from the Minute of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, quoted in Separation of Judicial from Executive Powers, Ed. by P. C. Ray, p. 139.

[3] See the Article of Sir Charles Elliott in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" for Oct., 1896.

[4] Kale—Indian Administration (1923), p. 414.

[5] Chailley—Administrative Problems of British India, p. 413,

The promotion of the Deputy Magistrates is altogether in his hands. Upon his confidential reports, hangs their future.[1] Under these circumstances, it is palpable that the separation of magisterial from police duties which has been effected in the case of the other Magistrates is nothing but a misnomer.

The District Officer is the controller of the Police and the head of the Magistracy. In every case, therefore, in which the Police is interested and the District officer himself is directly or indirectly a party, honest and impartial justice would be out of the question. The predilections of the District Magistrate would find a natural weight with the subordinate Magistrates and they would decide the case, always to the satisfaction of their chief. Hence "to make a judge's promotion dependent on the favour of the chief police officer is a direct and most unwholesome incentive to him to gratify his master's wishes; and so long as criminal courts are virtually under Police control, it is hopless to expect from them either justice or independence."[2] The late Mr. Monomohan Ghosh pointed out very lucidly in a press interview how the trying Magistrates were instructed in his days, by the District Officer as to the turn their judgment should take. "I know of many instances" observed Mr. Ghosh, "in which what are called demi-official 'chits' in India have been sent by the District Magistrate during the progress of a case to a subordinate Magistrate engaged in trying it, telling him how to proceed in matters which are purely judicial."[3] Judicial independence was thus out of the question, rather judicial subserviency was the rule. In the case, Constable Narsingh vs. Messrs. Corbett and Simkins, Mr. Pennell, the District Judge of Chapra, castigated the subservient attitude of the Deputy Magistrate, Moulavi Zakir Hussain. He pointed out "it certainly does seem to me that Maulavi Zakir Hossain's predilection for satisfying his superior at all costs might find more legitimate indulgence on the revenue side. And it will be a grave scandal if he be retained as a Magistrate in this neighbourhood."[1] This case along with many others of like nature illustrates the danger to individual liberty and freedom, from the union of executive and judicial powers in the hands of the District Officer.[2] The executive all on a sudden discovers that a particular individual is not sufficiently respectful to its authority and majesty and has done something not to its liking. It would then proceed to apply its Police powers and get the man into custody. And the next step it would take would be the requisition of its judicial powers for maintaining its executive fiat. Not that the District Officer himself would try such cases. But he would only see that some other Magistrate would do the needful.[3] Criminal justice in India is thus a hand-maid of executive high-handedness. Instead of being the guardian of the rights and liberties of the people, it constitutes an excellent handle in repressing their privileges and curving their freedom.

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[1] Nabin Chandra Sen's Autobiography, Vol. V, pp. 52-53.

[2] The Right Hon. Sir Richard Garth—Statement printed in "India" for August 1893; see P. C. Ray—Separation of Judicial, etc., p. 148.

[3] The interview published in "India" for Dec., 1895,

The union of incompatible functions has again not been the only bane of the Indian judiciary. The methods of recruiting the judges have also taken away considerably from their efficiency and integrity. Almost all the higher judiciary to-day, both civil and criminal, is manned by the Indian Civil Service. And all the lower Magistracy also is run by the Civil Service either of the Imperial or the Provincial grade. Only the lower civil judicial offices are filled otherwise. The Munsifs form a cadre of their own and are altogether out of the control of the executive. They are appointed in theory by the Provincial Government, but in reality by the High Court, whose nominations are accepted without any alteration by the Government. Their promotion and transfer are also determined by the High

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[1] P. C. Ray—Separation, etc., p. 348.

[2] *Cf.*, "We were encouraged then to exercise considerable executive interference with the ordinary course of justice." Sir Henry Cotton—Indian and Home Memories (1911), p. 94.

[3] See the cases in P. C. Ray—Separation, etc., pp. 263-327.

Court. Formerly, the Munsifs were recruited from the ranks of the clerks of the Judge's Courts. The study of law had not yet been undertaken in an extensive scale and on a scientific method. The Indian bar had not yet been properly organised. The *peshkars* and *sheristadars*, who had been inside a law court and had as such an opportunity to breathe the judicial atmosphere and pick up the legal technicalities, were, under the circumstances, the most suitable persons to be elevated to the bench. They had already earned some acquaintance with the judicial procedure and as Munsifs managed somehow to tackle the petty cases before them. They had, however, no grounding in law and the practice of recruiting the Munsifs from their ranks cauld not, therefore, be made permanent. Meanwhile law colleges were started and the study of law became scientific. And about fifty years back, the system came into vogue that law graduates with some years' practice at the bar should be appointed to these judicial posts.[1]

For many years, this practice was maintained. The Public Service Commission of 1912-15, however, thought that the three years' experience at the bar which was demanded of every candidate for the Munsifship was really not a very essential condition. It would be better if the Munsifs were directly recruited from the law college and then posted as assistants to some District Judge. This period of probation over, they should be given an independent bench.[2] To-day the practice is rather irregular. Now and again practising lawyers are appointed to these judicial positions. Now, however, distinguished law-graduates are appointed direct to the bench. No experience, as a lawyer, is demanded of them. This has not been a step in the right direction. We have seen already that the best way to ensure the efficiency of the judges is to recruit them from practicing lawyers of quite a good standing. Three years' experience, as had been demanded hitherto, would, no doubt, accustom an intelligent man to the ways of the law courts. It would be better, however, if some time more be spent at the bar before his promotion to the bench. The British custom of recruiting judges from lawyers, of at least five years' standing satisfies all the requirements. This system has got to be introduced in our country in the matter of recruiting the lower judiciary. Whatever training a law graduate may undertake during his probationary period cannot, in any way, compensate for the real experience he may achieve at the bar.

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[1] See the Report of the Public Services Commission (1886-87), p. 25. And also Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, p. 26.

[2] See the Report of the Islington Commission, pp. 191-92. "This arrangement (that persons only with at least three years' experience at the bar should be recruited) has the disadvantage that it delays recruitment to the detriment of an officer's pension and prevents his reaching a position of real responsibility young enough in life. In practice also the period is not sufficient to enable youngmen to have acquired any real experience and is thus of little practical use."

Lower criminal justice is administered by Civil Servants of either the Imperial or the Provincial cadre. In fact, most of the petty criminal cases are decided by the Deputy Magistrates. But neither these officers nor the junior Indian Civil Service men, who are their coadjutors in this matter, are whole time criminal judges. The Deputy Magistrates belong to the executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service. They are recruited primarily for executive work and much of their time they devote to executive business.[1] Their appointment is made not on the basis of their knowledge in law, but on the ground of their general fitness for all-round executive duty. Practically, most of these officers get no legal training before their appointment. Even while in service, and actually administering criminal justice, their knowledge in law does not go beyond a perfunctory acquaintance with the sections of Indian criminal code.[2] Now as Magistrates their responsibility is quite a heavy one. Those among them with first class powers may sentence a person to two years' hard labour. The public may naturally expect that those who are called upon to discharge such highly responsible judicial business should have a thorough and systematic legal training. But as a rule, not only do these officers not bring with them at the time of recruitment any comprehensive legal knowledge, but in the service itself they have no opportunity to make good their defect. Their probationary period is not exclusively devoted to legal affairs. Nor is their further career dedicated to criminal justice alone. They have got to combine their judicial work with all other matters of public business. Naturally their legal knowledge remains, throughout their official life, limited to the sections of criminal law which they picked up some how at the time of the departmental examinations. It is high time that this system should be completely overhauled. With the complete separation of executive from judicial functions which, we have seen, is long overdue, criminal justice also may be given over to the Munsifs.[1] Not that the same person would discharge both civil and criminal responsibility. But the inferior criminal judges should be appointed on the same basis and should hold office on the same conditions as the Munsifs. A comprehensive legal training at the college followed by a reasonable experience at the bar would make an excellent qualification for the criminal judge, as for the Munsif.[2]

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[1] See the Report of the Public Services Commission of 1886-7, pp. 223. The statement made in this Report as regards the duties of these officers is equally true to-day.

[2] "The majority or practically all of them have no grounding whatever in the principles of law, and get no training whatever in criminal jurisprudence which

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enters largely into the performance of their duties, etc." See separate note by M. B. Chaubal in the Islington Commission Report, p. 237.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[2] See the "Bengalee" of the 12th August, 1927, on the question of the appointment of Presidency Magistrates. "The Indian Civil Service or the Bengal Civil Service men do not get a sufficient legal training. No doubt many of them turn out to be excellent magistrates even without any proper legal training. But the advantage of the training which a practice at the bar implies cannot be supplied even by long experience in the service. The executive bias which is often apparent in our magistrates serves only to make the magistracy less respected by the public. And freedom from that bias can be secured most effectively by practice at the bar and the legal training and attitude of independence which such practice implies."

The principle of recruitment which we advocate for the lower judiciary is still more urgent in the case of the higher justice. Graver responsibility is involved in this field and greater acumen and insight are called for, on the part of the judges. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that persons only with a proper legal training and with a requisite legal experience at the bar should be raised to such onerous judicial posts.

Hitherto, the higher judiciary has been formed mostly by the members of the Indian Civil Service. These superior judicial positions have been mainly reserved for them by statute.[1] During early British rule, it was, of course, indispensable that these officers alone should discharge high judicial duties. The Indian legal system was then in a state of flux. Indian customs and traditions were being slowly influenced and modified by English Common law and equity. Out of this intermixture, a new legal system was being gradually evolved. Under these circumstances, the officers of the Indian Civil Service who had imbibed the spirit of English social ethics and had at the same time made themselves familiar with Indian conditions were the fit persons to settle all legal disputes.[2]

For a considerable period of time again justice was not looked upon as a special branch of government that required specialised training to conduct. It was taken to be a part of general administration. Hence officers who could discharge revenue duties to-day, or police functions to-morrow, might easily occupy the judicial bench the day after. Even when Civil Judicial functions were separated for administrative convenience and vested in the District Judges, these officers were not to take up permanently the judicial line. In their onward progress from the bottom to the top of the service, they were, for a while, to fill the position of the District Judges.[1]

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[1] The Statute of 1861. See the Public Services Commission Report (1886-7), pp. 17-18.

[2] See the Minute of Dissent by Sir Abdur Rahim in the Islington Commission Report, p. 434.

It thus comes to this that men untrained and inexperienced, were entrusted with high judicial responsibility. They naturally proved to be square pegs in round holes. The result was what could only be expected under the circumstances. There was a frequent miscarriage of justice and the law courts came to incur public odium and censure. Most of the Judges were not accustomed to judicial procedure and had no systematic and detailed acquaintance with the laws which they were called upon to apply. The High Court began to complain and demanded an immediate change in the system of the appointment of the Judges.[2] Many of the experienced officers themselves now came to hold strong views about the system in vogue. They tried to bring home to the Government that the position of the Judges was far from enviable. The Indian bar had now been properly organised and attained quite a high standard of professional efficiency. The procedure of the Courts was no longer vague as before, it had already come to be clear cut and definite. The laws were no longer ill-defined. Hence general ability and stout common sense were not sufficient qualities for a man now to make an efficient judge.[3] Good legal training and constant judicial experience were demanded of them. It was high time that the judicial and executive functions should be completely separated and continuous judicial practice provided to those engaged in the adjudication of cases. One officer not only demanded an absolute separation between the executive and judicial classes of officers but actually suggested that the future judges should have at least some experience at the bar. [1] Without really a further legal equipment, it was not possible for the judges even to cope with the lawyers arguing a case before him. The Government of India were, however, not yet ready to introduce a complete separation of judicial from executive duties. All judicial functions, from lower magistracy upwards, could not be concentrated in a corps of officers altogether distinguished from the executive branch. But though magistracy remained combined with other administrative functions, the Government of Bengal, now under the leadership of Sir George Campbell, thought out a plan for a more efficient discharge of both executive and superior judicial duties. In 1873, the Indian Civil Service in this province was divided into two branches and the so-called parallel promotion system was introduced. After several years of service, an officer was to choose definitely the line of work he preferred. He might go over to the executive and administrative branch or finally enter upon the judicial career. Of course, the choice of the officer himself was not always to prevail. The Government reserved the right of discretion in the matter. In distributing the officers between the two branches, the Government were to consider their desires and achievements and at the same time the needs and exigencies of administration. The object of Sir George Campbell in introducing this system was " to secure better training for judges and executive officers alike, and to prevent officers shifting at random from the executive to the judicial branches of the service, and *vice versa*." [2]

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[1] Even all on a sudden an absolutely inexperienced man might be raised to the bench of the Sadar Court. When John Russel Colvin was elevated to such a highly responsible post in 1848 "the objections to the appointment were many. With some he had no experience. With others, he had no temper. Again he had no knowledge of legal matters." See Colvin's Life by Colvin (Rulers of India Series, p. 155.)

[2] See the opinions of the High Court of Fort William in 1864 and 1866, inserted in P. C. Ray—Separation of Judicial, etc., pp. 63-66.

[3] See the note of F. R. Cockerell of the Indian Civil Service to the Government of Bengal the 25th July, in 1868,—P. C. Ray, pp, 105-113.

The judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service, however, has never been able to capture the imagination of the officers. The administrative line has always been popular with them. Ambitious and capable men find more openings for distinction in administrative work. Greater freedom of action and the more varied nature of duty in this field have also attracted the sturdier spirits.[1] Besides, the administrative officers command greater respect and wield greater influence and power over the people. The judicial officers cannot but look upon with envy the high prestige which the executive officers enjoy.[2] It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the able and the efficient among the officers would always seek an executive career, and the judicial branch would be simply the dumping ground of the idlers and the sluggards.

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[1] The opinion of Rivers Thomson, 25th July, 1868 in P. C. Ray, p. 121.

[2] Gilchrist—Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, pp. 105-6.

Of course, an attempt had long been made to make the judicial service more popular and attractive by financial inducements. A system of judicial allowance was introduced and those who would join the judicial branch would have the financial benefit of this extra income. Only recently however the Lee Commission recommended the abolition of this practice.[3]

Now after the introduction of this system of parallel promotion, the Indian Civil Servants have no doubt ceased to move like a shuttle-cock between the executive and judicial duties. Those who cast in their lot with the judicial branch to-day, may have the benefit of continuous judicial experience throughout their career. This regular judicial practice on the part of the judges is certainly an asset to the Indian judiciary. Regular work in the same line always facilitates business.[4]

The Civilian Judges to-day naturally come to possess greater insight into the character of cases than formerly. Their acquaintance with the details of judicial procedure also is not so very fitful and half-hazard as in the sixties and the seventies of the last century. But even all this improvement cannot make good the fundamental defect which the Civilian Judges always labour under. They have never received any systematic and thorough training in legal principles nor ever have they any experience at the bar. It is always difficult to make individually a scientific study of a subject like law and that too in the late years of life. And it could not certainly be expected that all the Civilian Judges would at all make any such attempt. The Islington Commission on the Public Services appreciated this difficulty and supported the idea that liberal study allowances should be given to the officers who would like "to undertake whilst on leave, the courses of study leading up to a call to the bar."[1] This scheme, on the face of it, is not quite bad, but we do not see why, at all, the judges should be recruited from the Civil Service when that means an additional drain on the public purse. The services that the public derives from these judges do not, by any means, constitute the right return for the total amount spent upon them. At a lesser cost, but with a more profitable return, many of the front rank young lawyers may be induced to go over to the bench. It really makes no meaning to appoint an untrained man to a judicial post at a greater cost, when a trained man is available at a lower public expense. From the stand-point of the litigants, and general social welfare, the sooner this method of recruitment is stopped the better. "A civilian judge" observed Sir Abdur Rahim in his excellent minute of dissent in the Islington Commission Report, "who has never been behind the scenes, never drafted a plaint or a written statement nor examined or cross-examined a witness in his life must be at a considerable disadvantage in arriving at the true and important facts of a case."[2] It is, therefore, high time that the practice of appointing Civil Service men to the bench should be given the go-bye and lawyers of reasonably long practice should be promoted to these posts.[3]

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[1] John Russel Colvin by A. Colvin (Rulers of India Series), pp. 155-6.

[2] Dyarchy—Lionel Curtis pp 145-46.

[3] The Lee Report—p. 32. "This advantage in pay was given in view of the fact that, in the past, the general attractions of judicial work were inferior to those on the executive side, and consequently a higher rate of pay had to be offered to induce men to enter the Judicial Branch voluntarily. We do not consider that this consideration any longer applies".

[4] The Federalist No: LXXII. "That experience is the parent of wisdom is an adage the truth of which is recognised by all."

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[1] The Report, p. 178.

[2] P. 434.

[3] The Islington Commission also recommended that "in view of the ability, attainments

The Indian Civil Service has encroached even upon the sacred precincts of the High Courts. In the year 1861, the Sadre Courts of the Company and the Supreme Court of the Crown were amalgamated and transformed into the present High Court of Judicature.[1] The Sadre Courts of the Company were all constituted by its own officers, while the Supreme Court was formed by the Judges recruited direct from the Bar in England.[2] Both these elements have been maintained in the High Courts of India to-day. And it has been statutorily fixed that at least one-third of the judges in these courts must be members of the Indian Civil Service. Another one-third must be recruited from the English Bar. The rest should be appointed either from the subordinate Civil judiciary or from among the pleaders practising before the High Court for a period of not less than ten years. Of the Indian Civil Service Officers to be appointed to the High Court Bench it is demanded that they must not be of less than ten years' standing and must have exercised the powers of a District Judge for at least three years.[3] We have seen already that even the duties of a District Judge should not be discharged by an I.C.S. man who is simply deficient in the principles and details of law and has at best only a perfunctory acquaintance with the legal procedure. Now if his appointment to the District Bench constitutes an injustice to the litigants and the public his promotion to the High Court Bench is more condemnable still.

With very few exceptions the Indian Civil Service Judge has always been a disastrous failure in the High Court. The bar here is highly efficient and influential. The cases brought before

and influence of the legal profession in India, the administration would benefit from some bar appointments...such an arrangement would concede an important principle and afford valuable experience of the possibilities of this method of recruitment." pp. 169-70. It was recommended that forty higher judicial posts should be reserved for men recruited from the bar. In Bengal, up to this time, only three appointments have been made on this principle.

[1] Joseph Chailley—Administrative Problems of British India (1910), p. 411.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

[3] Section 101, Sub-sections (3) and (4) of the Govt. of India Act.

it for adjudication are mostly complex and intricate in character. The judges are naturally expected to have a thorough grounding in even the minutest details of the laws involved. Their previous experience in handling such cases inspires confidence and respect. But the Civilian Judge who is mostly innocent of the detailed knowledge of the laws he is to apply and has never had any experience in dealing with such complex matters, naturally comes in for castigation at the hands of the lawyers pleading before his court. The respect of the bar for the bench dwindles, as a matter of course, and the confidence of the public in the judiciary comes to be shaken. The system of appointing judges has, therefore, to be changed. Only lawyers who have practised before the High Court for quite a number of years, have been behind the scenes, and earned acquaintance with the nature of cases commonly brought before the court, should be elevated to the highest bench in a province.[1] The connection of the Indian Civil Service with the judiciary should be immediately and finally discontinued.

NARESHCHANDRA RAY

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[1] Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—The Indian Constitution, p. 154.

O, LIFE'S FEVER CURE !

O Lord of love and truth,
My guide on path of ruth,
  I supplicate Thy grace
O let my heart be taught
To value all as naught
  That covers of Love the face—
That glorious face divine,
By fancy called as Thine
  —The fancy of my race.
I know not what Thou art,
If whole Thou art or part,
  'Tis sin to call Thee 'this',
Thou art but what Thou art
The joyous jewel of heart,
  The ceaseless loving kiss.
Some say there is naught but Thee
Some, Thy works all I see—
  What I praise or blame.
All saints and sages spell
Thy name, but none can tell
  Hast Thou in truth a name.
What is and then is not
What's gained and then is lost
  Works either way in heart ;
Now it seems a joy supreme
And then of pain the cream
  Are they Thy playthings pure ?
I run to hold them fast
But ere I hold they 're past.
  Of naught can I be sure,
  O cure life's fever, cure.
  For love Thine may I life endure,
  And may I this dark self abjure !

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJ

INDIA IN THE EYES OF EUROPE [1]

I

It is quite clear to me that, having become conscious of their national interests at home, the people of India, at least a certain section of them, especially those who have established world contacts, are beginning to realize that they have wider interests—world interests—and they must acquire and defend them abroad. This fact is very evident to me, that you have asked me to speak on a topic, discussion of which will mean an appraisal of Europe's attitude towards Indian aspirations, Indian life, Indian institutions and the people of India as a whole.

I suppose that you are fully aware of the fact that "Eyes of Europe" may verily mean the eyes of the world, because the American continents are mere expansions of Europe; and today views of many of the oriental scholars and thinkers, statesmen and politicians, even religious leaders and social workers are influenced by the culture and outlook of Europe. Thus to me the topic has a great significance and it may mean "What is the position of India before the World?"

I feel very diffident about discussing the subject, because our recent visits to Europe were not undertaken for the purpose of studying the problem of "What does the world think about India?" but we went to Europe as "stateless persons without passports" to seek peace and some security. In fact, while in Europe, many times, I deliberately refused the opportunity of speaking or writing on India. We are now very "respectable people" as the United States' State Department has recognised our status of "regular American citizens," back to the land of our citizenship.

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[1] An address delivered by Dr. Taraknath Das, at the International House, New York, under the auspices of the Hindustan Association of America, on December 3, 1927, Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland presiding.

Even if I were entrusted with a mission to study world public opinion regarding India, it would be very presumptuous on my part to give an authoritative opinion on such a vast subject. To find out the views of one Government towards the other and to transact business of importance, nations have their Ambassadors, Ministers and their attachés who are constantly at work. Economic Commissions, Industrial Missions, Labour Delegations, Cultural Representatives of all sorts, such as educators, newspaper men and women, social workers and others, go to various countries to make special study of certain phases of a nation's life. They gather information and digest it and even then, they at times come to wrong conclusions. Then again the impression formed at a certain time in a country through the contact with a group of people may not form a correct picture of the situation even a few days later. World opinion is relative and it is never absolute; it is a result of cross-currents of world events and interests, including "the gentle art of propaganda." If the people of India are interested in "world public opinion," they will have to create a machinery for constant observation and dissemination of facts about India in various parts of the world.

Although the Anglo-Saxon World is most interested in India, and some section of it is very actively engaged in forming international opinion to justify their stand against Indian aspirations, I shall not discuss this phase of the question. Therefore, I shall give my attention to the views of the Latin World, Teutonic World, Slavic World, Scandinavian World and the League of Nations regarding India.

II. THE LATIN WORLD AND INDIA.

The Latin World, *i.e.*, the French, the Italian and the Spanish peoples and those who are influenced by Latin culture, form a very important factor of the world ; and their influence is bound to grow. *Then again these people do not cherish race-prejudice to such an extent as other Western people do.* At the outset, it must be taken into consideration that the Latin peoples have the tradition of being in contact with India from very ancient times—even before the Christian era. The Latin peoples were the pioneers in establishing Indo-European relations. The Italian merchants, the Portuguese mariners like Vasco da Gama and French statesmen took interest in India for their own gain.

(a) *France and India.*

It was only a little over hundred years ago when Napoleon was actively engaged in the formation of an alliance with Tipu Sultan against the British. Even less than fifty years ago, French statesmen took the initiative in forming a Franco-Burmese Alliance, which resulted in an unprovoked attack on Burma by the British Indian forces and dethronement of the late King Thibeau and annexation of Burma. France has a vast colonial empire in Asia and small possessions in India. Thus the French are very keenly observing what is happening n India. They regard India to be the heart of Asia as a whole and every development in India will have its direct and indirect bearing on their political and economic interests in Asia.

The masses in France and other western countries are completely ignorant regarding India. In fact it must not be forgotten that the masses do not form public opinion, but they merely absorb the ideas presented to them by the leaders of a country. They are moved by mob-psychology. In France, among the intelligent public, there is genuine interest for India's cultural, economic as well as political nationalism. A section of these leaders of French thought are anti-Indian in a certain sense, because they are in favour of an Anglo-French understanding in World Politics or they do not want to have any British enmity in World Politics. They do not want to do anything or to be associated with anything which may even be nterpreted as pro-Indian and thus anti-British. But in France here are people who have genuine interest to study cultural life of India and they are to be found in French University circles. Prof. Sylvain Levy's interest in the *Viswabharati* and the cordial reception accorded to Indian cultural representatives such as Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Jagadishchandra Bose, Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, Prof. Kalidas Nag and others, by the French universities, are some of the evidences. Indian students are very welcome in France. During my short stay in Paris, I had the privilege of coming in contact with a few French scholars and I invariably found them to be deeply interested in India. But there are very few Indians in France who are helping the French scholars and the French people to know India better. Knowledge cannot be acquired without contact, and unfortunately there is the lack of adequate cultural contact between India and France.

In this connection I may say that the dark side of Indian life was very glaringly presented in Paris for months in succession during the last year. In Paris, in one of the public gardens an angle of Indian life was shown in a "show" called Indian village, with hundreds of Indians from the most backward South Indian villages. I had the occasion to write about the painful impression of it in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta. As Igoroty village-life, shown in some of the exhibitions in America, has done harm by spreading a very wrong impression of the life of the Filippino people, so this "show" has done a great deal to spread misconception of Indian life. I may say that a similar show was shown in Munich, Berlin and other cities of Europe.

However, the trend of French thought on India can be fairly understood from the study made by various French savants regarding India, as a part of the British Empire. Prof. Albert Demangeon, Sorbonne University, in his authoritative work on British Empire, which is a study in colonial geography, and in his other works, makes various interesting comments and asks significant questions. Let me quote a few passages :—

"The flood of wealth that has flowed into Great Britain since she has been exploiting the tropical world has proceeded to a large extent from India, and it was there in particular, that the fortune of the merchants of London was made...To her (India) the East India Company owed that unheard of prosperity of which Macaulay said that history knows nothing to equal it...By tributes imposed upon the Indian princes, by taxes levied on the people, by personal profits of the Company's agents, and by export of gold, precious stones, and fine textiles, there were built up enormous 'Indian fortunes' which came to England at the very time when the country was heading for the industrial Revolution and had most need of capital. With this wealth the coal mines, the blast furnaces, the iron works, and the cotton and woollen mills of Great Britain were enabled to set up their new machinery and assume industrial supremacy in the markets of the world" (pages 238-39).—*Albert, Demangeon: The British Empire. New York, 1925.*

In another work the author makes the following remarks :—

"India is an entire world. An Indian revolt driving out the English would shake the foundations of the British Empire; it would change the map of the world. India is the tropical colony for exploitation. Immense, rich and thickly populated, she represents for her masters at once a fortune and a defence. It is through India that the British Empire assures its destiny. India is the halting place of British commerce to the Far East. India gives the fleet places of support for the sea routes. India recruits for the army legions of high-spirited soldiers; native contingents fight for Great Britain in China and South Africa. During the Great War, India supplied more than a million men, of whom more than 100,000 were killed. It may be said she conquered Mesopotamia and vanquished Turkey. India is for Great Britain an enormous market; two-thirds of her importations come from English sources; she furnishes 51 per cent. of the tea, 73 per cent. of the coffee, and almost all cotton. An immense British capital is invested in mines, the factories, the plantations, the railways, and the irrigation work for India; India pays the interest on probably more than 1,350 million pound sterling. India keeps busy an army of British officials whose salaries she pays and whose savings go every year to Great Britain. She pours into British coffers the interest on her public debts, the pensions of old officials, the governmental expenses for her administration. More than 30 million pounds sterling a year is the estimate of the sums that India pays in the United Kingdom to her creditors, her stockholders and her officials. At that we do not know how much she brings to the merchants who trade with her and the shippers who transport her goods. Never has the term exploitation been better applied" (pages 209-210).—*Demangeon, Albert: America and Race for World Domination. New York, 1921.*

The French savant enquires into the possible future of the British rule in India and says:—

> "Of all the Colonial Powers, Great Britain is the one that rules over the largest number of people in the tropics. India alone forms a gigantic block of over 300 millions of natives. In the future something other than clever diplomacy and a strong military force will undoubtedly be necessary to keep India. Only a policy of freedom and equality in gradually increasing proportions, will succeed in prolonging that paradoxical association between Great Britain and India, between the tiny island and the vast continent. But will such a policy always suffice?" (pages 277-278). *Demangeon, Albert: British Empire.*

His observations on the evolution of Indian Nationalism is exceedingly interesting:

> "What we are witnessing in India is the slow toil of preparing national solidarity in the face of European domination. It would be unwise not to admit that the future of British rule is compromised by the very principle on which this movement is founded. From the political point of view the guidance of the country will pass gradually from the hands of the English to those of the Indians, while from the economic standpoint, the Indians, by managing their own affairs, will work in the interests of their own country instead of those of Great Britain."—*Ibid*, p. 261.

Regarding the future Government of India, he asks the following interesting and suggestive question:—

> "The political geography of India is therefore in process of evolution. Will she become, like European continent, the natural framework of several independent states? Or will she, like Russia, form a single state collecting a diversity of races, regions, religions under one sway? Or, again, will she like the American continent, become a republic associating under a single flag a confederation of more or less autonomous states?" *Ibid*, 254.

In this connection I may say that there are not many Indian scholars and statesmen who are actively engaged in working out scientifically *an outline of future government of India under Indian control.* During the last few years crores of rupees have been collected by Indian nationalist organizations and spent in various programmes, but so far as I know, nothing substantial has been done by Indian leaders and scholars for working out a plan of the future government of India. It is high time that *a Committee of Indian Political Scientists,* and not politicians, if necessary assisted by some western experts, be appointed to prepare *the Constitution of the United States of India,* which should replace the present Government of India Act.

France has played the most significant role in the field of world civilization. It was the French thought and ideals that inspired Thomas Jefferson to pen the immortal document of *the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America*; and it was France who acted really as a God Mother to the Republic of the United States of America. As long as the United States exists, it will be a tribute to French civilization. France has indirectly brought into existence the independent states of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and others. To-day France is deeply interested in spreading the influence of her culture all over the world. France wants that scholars from all parts of the world may come to her and feel at home. Only recently the French Government has allotted sites (free of cost) in Paris to all nations which wish to establish centres for the students of their nationals. It is a great pity, so far as I know, that there will be no special centre for Indian students in Paris. Owing to the lack of foresight, the people of India and their leaders, their Princes, and merchant-princes have not seen the supreme necessity of establishing permanent cultural contact with France. There are Indian Princes who squander annually hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling in lavish luxury in Paris, but none has seen fit to take the step for building a centre for Indian students in Paris, although Japan, and other nations such as Great Britain and United States are doing it for their students.

From the standpoint of World Politics, French statesmen are interested in India, although they may never say so. It is very natural for them to be so; because they have seen what the Indian soldiers did for France during the World War, particularly at the Battle of the Marne. They realise that the centre of gravity of World Politics has shifted to the Far East and to the Mediterranean; and no practical statesman can ignore the value of India's man-power, economic strength and strategic position, in the equation of future balance of power. *But, do you know of any one of India's politicians who are thinking of the future destiny of India in terms of international relations?*

(b) *Italy and India.*

After my travel in Italy from Naples to the Italian lakes—the most charming spots in Europe—and after my close observation of an awakened Italy, I realised the importance of Italy in the field of world culture and world affairs. Italy is the mother of the Eternal City, Rome, which is the centre of the most powerful religious organization in the world—the Catholic Church. Italy is geographically nearer to India than any other European countries, and new Italy appreciates Indian people's struggle for nationhood. The struggle for Italian unity and independence happened only less than three quarters of a century ago. There is not an Indian nationalist who is not familiar with the works and ideals of Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour and King Victor Emmanuel, the heroes of Italian Independence. It may be well to remember that the Italian patriots spread the doctrine of "God, Country and Humanity" and thus they felt that the cause of liberty should be fought in every part of the world. This was not an empty expression for Garibaldi and his followers; because Garibaldi once wanted to go to India to help the Indian rebels during the so-called Sepoy Mutiny. But as he was engaged in the work of liberation of Italy he could not leave his country; and when he was about to embark for India, he had to abandon the idea, because the rebellion was suppressed.

The followers of Mazzini think of Italy in terms of one of the oppressed peoples and their rights. In his new book "Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy," Signor Nitti, the Ex-Premier of Italy, gives expression of the feeling of sympathy towards the oppressed peoples of the Orient. Among other things, he writes :—

> "The illustrious ruler of an oriental State visited me a few years ago and he asked my advice. After I had answered all his questions I was anxious to give him a last piece of advice:
>
> "Mistrust European Capitalism, it is animated by a spirit of plunder. Facilitate trade between all countries. But never, for any reason, grant special concessions which restrict your independence and freedom of action in any way" (p. 155).

Fascist Italy is generally looked upon with suspicion by many Indians; but after a very careful study and interviews with various Italian statesmen, I have come to the conclusion that Fascist Italy has great interest in establishing closer cultural, economic and political connection with India. First of all it should be borne in mind that Fascist Italy is not interested in anything or any nation on purely sentimental basis. Italy needs British support to secure further territories in Africa and in the Near East; whereas Great Britain needs Italian support very badly in the Mediterranean and the Near East. Thus Italy is practically an ally of Great Britain and her foreign policy affects adversely some of the peoples of the Islamic World. However, it was in the International Philosophical Congress held in Italy, that Indian philosophers such as Professor Dasgupta and others were given recognition on equal footing. It was Italy which took the initiative of sending a cultural mission to "Indian India," by sending the foremost Italian scholars in the *Viswabharati* and the Italian Universities presented a library of Italian literature to the same institution. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's reception in Italy by Premier Mussolini is something of great international significance. I was in Como, to the Volta Exposition, held in memory of the great Italian scientist, one of the fathers of electricity,— and India was to be represented by the Indian physicists of repute—Professors Bose and Shah—in the International Congress of Physicists. Italy is anxious to receive scholars from other lands and Indian students are welcome to Italian Universities; and it is not very difficult for accomplished Indian artists to secure exceptional opportunity to finish education in fine arts. Rome is the home of the International Agricultural Institute where practically all nations of the world are represented. Italian interest on the question of Immigration Problem, Opium Evil, Codification of Private Laws as well as other matters present opportunity for India's collaboration in the cultural field.

Some two years ago when I was in Italy after my visit to Germany, Austria, France and Switzerland, I felt that it was only a question of time when Italy will have a mandate for Syria which France will be glad to get rid of. It seems that before long Italy will secure control of Syria. If that happens, a section of Indian politicians who only think in terms of "extra-territorial patriotism" would be bitterly opposed to friendly relations between Italy and India; *but the nationalist India must learn to think in terms of "Indian interest first" and they should realize that India will have nothing to gain by following an anti-Italian policy.*

The progress of Italian shipping and industry makes it imperative for Italy to seek new markets for finished products. Indian raw materials of cotton, jute and other products are the necessities to feed the Italian factories. *It will depend upon the far-sighted Indian patriots to promote cultural, economic and political co-operation with Italy in terms of reciprocity. There-*

is every reason to think that when such an initiative is taken by responsible Indians, they will receive cordial response.

(*c*) *India and Spain, Portugal and Latin American Republics.*

Spain and Portugal are the mother countries of the Latin American republics. Spain is going through a new awkening, and her influence is bound to grow in all parts of the world, particularly in the Latin American countries, the field of world economics and world politics, the influence of South African Republics are bound to be on the ascendency. Spanish people are favourably inclined towards the aspirations of the people of India. If cultural, economic and political relations are developed between the Spanish-speaking world and India, it may help in solving Indian Immigration Question. *In South American countries there is no race-prejudice and millions of Indians can live there with honour and dignity and they will find opportunity to give unfettered expression to their ability in all fields of human activity.*

On the whole, there is less race-prejudice in the Latin World; and the Indian students will find a far more congenial atmosphere in France, Italy and Spain to study than in other parts of the western world. Of course, there is the language difficulty; but that should be overcome by Indian students by studying French, Italian and Spanish, and above all French.

III. GERMANY AND INDIA.

It is universally recognised that of all the western nations, German people have been deeply interested in Indian (Hindu) thought. During the last twenty-five years more books on Sanskrit literature and various schools of Hindu philosophy have been published in Germany than in India. German interest in Indian culture is tremendous; and Indian scientists, poets and scholars are given the heartiest hospitality by the cultured Germans.

German industrialists realize the importance of India better than any other people. Before the World War Germany was on the road to commercial ascendency in India. It caused real rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. During the World War, Great Britain carried on propaganda all over the world to the effect that one of the German War Aims was to conquer India. Even when the World War was over, certain restrictions were imposed for five years against Germany starting any business in India. It is to the interest of German industrialists and merchants to promote economic and commercial co-operation whenever it is possible.

At the present time, Germany has no political ambition in Asia; she knows that she can never secure a foothold in Asia, without creating certain conditions which would be dangerous to her own real interests. It is generally recognized in Germany that politically free India will be an asset to Germany from a commercial point of view; and from the standpoint of international relations, freedom of India will increase Germany's power and influence in World Politics, whereas it will decrease the power of the present colonial Powers of the West.

Germany knows that it was Indian forces that destroyed the Turkish forces in Arabia. The fall of Turkey was the beginning of the end of the German Empire. Germany realizes the menace of the Indian soldiers, fighting for Great Britain. During the World War, Germany intrigued with the Indian nationalists for an abortive rising in India. During the recent years, after the French occupation of the Ruhr, Germany realized the difficulty of the helpless and disarmed Indian people and then she had to follow the tactics of the disarmed—the Non-violent Non-co-operation. To-day partially disarmed Germany has no control over her national defence; defeated Germany, bound to pay an enormous sum for reparations, does not enjoy the full control over her finance and Germany has not the full freedom of choosing a foreign policy, lest it may bring about the wrath of the former enemy powers which might destroy the possibility of her quick recovery. *However, it is certain that Germany will recover her position as a great Power when Austria and Germany will be united as one nation of more than 70 millions of forward-looking and hard-working people. It is generally hoped that the future relations with the Teutonic World and the Orient will be based upon understanding and justice.*

During the World War, malicious lies were spread about Germany and the spirit of German culture; and now Germany is anxious to redeem herself in the eyes of the world. So German educational institutions are welcoming foreign students and they are doing all that is possible to spread German culture. Japan, of all nations, has fully realised the significance of it and the German-Japanese Institute has been established in Berlin. *Germany is thinking in terms of Young Asia, the free Asia of the future. Under the circumstances, except some of the opportunist officials, the leaders of Germany in the field of culture, industry, and politics look with sympathetic interest upon the peoples of the East, particularly India.* Although Indian soldiers fought against Germany during the World War, the German people do not bear any grudge against any individual Indian; on the contrary, during my long stay in various parts of Germany, I was accorded utmost consideration.

IV. RUSSIA AND INDIA.

Russian interest in India goes back to the days of Peter the Great. Due to Anglo-Russian rivalry of the past India had to suffer in many ways. A few years before the World War, because Russia joined hands with Great Britain in her Asiatic policy, the attitude of the Russian Government was anti-Indian. But with the advent of the Soviet Government in Russia, the situation has changed in India's favour.

It is generally regarded that the Soviet leaders were interested in World revolution, liberating all the subject and oppressed peoples of the world. However, if Soviet Russia would not have been attacked by the Tsarist reactionaries, who were supported by Great Britain and other Powers, the Soviet Russian leaders might not have taken so keen an interest in the programme of liberation of the peoples of Asia, from the capitalistic Powers of the West. After ten years of experiment, with the change of internal economic policy in Russia, Soviet Russian attitude towards other nations has changed considerably. To-day it is fully realized by the Soviet Russian leaders that they need peace for the consolidation of the State. Instead of preaching class and world revolution, they have accepted the fact that there has come *" the stabilization of the Capitalistic World of the West,"* and the Russian leaders want to remain in peace with the capitalistic world, provided the latter does not attack the Soviet Government. This change of policy, coupled with the firm ascendancy of Stalin over Trotsky group, means that the Russian Government will not take the initiative in starting any further adventure of fomenting wars of revolution in the East against the Western Powers. *But Russia, for her own protection, will do her best to promote friendly relations among the peoples of the Orient.*

Even during the regime of the Tsars, the Russian universities carried on Oriental studies on an elaborate scale. This has not been given up ; on the contrary, it has been intensified in every sense of the word. The Soviet Government is not satisfied to confine the work of Oriental studies carried on by eminent Russian scholars, but they have made special arrangements for Oriental students to study Russian history, literature and to train some Oriental students who would be imbued with Russian ideals. For instance, the establishment of the Sun Yat Sen University at Moscow, is to train Chinese young-men and women, and at the same time to spread Russian cultural and political influence in China. This activity of the Soviet leaders is often denounced as a special brand of propaganda and opposed to the interests of other nations.

But after a close analysis we find that the Russian leaders are only trying to follow the path of the Americans, who have established the Tsung Wai University at Peking, maintained by the Boxer Indemnity Fund and hundreds of American institutions have been established in China. The Boxer Indemnity Scholars in American Universities are instruments for promoting American culture and American interests in the Orient. Soviet Russian leaders are only trying to follow the footsteps of America and other nations in this particular matter.

Soviet Russia, having all forms of civilization within her borders, and the Russian people and Russian statesmen being less prone to exclusiveness on racial grounds, are sympathetically inclined to Asian culture and institutions.

Russian interest to attract the intelligentsia of India, is seen in the invitation extended to the Indian leaders, journalists and educators to participate in the celebration of the Tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Government. Men like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Professor Radhakrishnan, Mr. Subhaschandra Bose, Mr. J. M. Sengupta, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Professor K. T. Shah and others are not communists, but they were invited. Russia wants to remain on friendly terms with India. *Russia has not forgotten that it was during the Crimean War, that Indian soldiers were for the first time brought to Europe, by the British Government. Russia also knows very well that if there were no unrest in India during 1919-1922, Indian troops would have swept through Persia to Black Sea regions. For her own self-interest, Russia is keenly alive to establish friendship with the people of India.*

V. SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES AND INDIA.

It is sufficient to mention that the interest of the Scandinavian countries in Indian thought and aspirations is genuine. They have shown their friendly attitude on every suitable occasion, by according proper recognition to Indian scholars such as conferring Nobel Prize to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The Scandinavian countries are not imperialistic and they want to remain neutral in all international conflicts. Thus the public opinion of the Scandinavian people is a very valuable asset ; *and from my personal experience I know that the British Government has carried on propaganda in Scandinavian countries to counteract all activities in favour of Indian freedom.*

VI. INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

It has been rightly said by an Indian statesman that "for the sake of India's political future and for all that is dear to us, India will tremendously gain by contributing to the formulation of the world opinion, which is bound to become a great force." No nation, which wishes to cultivate world public opinion, can ignore the institution of the League of Nations. India, as a member of the League, should utilise it to the fullest extent. But this is not being done by the Indian people. On the contrary, India is in many ways being misrepresented in the League of Nations, because under the existing system the person sent to the League to represent India, except on rare occasions, do not represent the Indian people and their aspirations : they act as mouthpieces of the alien Government. But this can be changed if the Indian people take a determined stand against the present method of selection of Indian representatives to the League of Nations. They should insist that none should be sent to the League to represent India who does not enjoy the confidence of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

There should be established at Geneva an India Information Bureau, free from British Government or League control, and under the guidance of an able and recognized Indian leader, familiar with world politics. Some may contend that the establishment of an India Information Bureau will be of no value ; but that is not the case, and I have seen effects of agitation by representative Indians on two occasions, *e.g.*, the

Opium Conferences and on the International Labour Conferences In the Opium Conferences, Sir John Campbell, representing India, made all kinds of absurd claims regarding the Indian opinion on the Opium Question. But when, through my efforts, a petition, signed by Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Rev. C. F. Andrews and many All-India Congress leaders representing at least a quarter of a million people, was presented to the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations, the British Government had to change its tactics. In fact, two years after the incident and due to the pressure of international public opinion, the British Indian Government has agreed that within ten years it would stop exporting opium from India for any other purpose than strictly medicinal. Since then there are investigations going on in India, apparently to adopt some means to change British Indian Government's opium policy, so that it may meet Indian support. The other instance was the protest of the Indian Chamber of Commerce against the appointment of an Englishman to represent Indian employers in one of the International Labour Conference. The protest was carried on in a very effective and businesslike manner by Hon. Mr. Haji, M.L.A. He raised the question of the validity of the credentials of the English gentleman, who was sent by the British Government to represent the Indian employers. He raised such a row in the local press and in the Credential Committee that the British Government had to take steps to defend its position. Due to the support extended by other Government delegates to the British Government, the Englishman was allowed to participate in the conference as a duly chosen delegate. But it should be noted that since this incident the British Indian Government has shown anxiety to consult the wishes of the Indian Chambers of Commerce in selecting employers' delegate to the International Labour Conference.

In the League of Nations—its secretariat, International Labour Office—India is most inadequately represented, although *she pays annually a large sum of money towards the maintenance of the League. However, it is a matter of great pleasure to note that Dr. J. C. Bose, the eminent scientist, has been representing India in the League's section of International Intellectual Co-operation. It must be emphasized that under the present circumstances, India does not derive the full advantage of her membership in the League of Nations, because of the attitude of the British Indian Government and also because of the lack of international outlook among the Indian politicians.*

VII. INDIAN RESPONSIBILITY.

International public opinion is created through international contacts. Thus, if the right kind of international public opinion regarding India is not in existence in the world, at least a fair share of the blame lies with India, for not establishing the right kind of contacts. If we compare the number of Indian students, businessmen and politicians who are now abroad with those of the Chinese, it will be quite apparent that India is lagging far behind China. Thus there is enough room for redoubling Indian energy to acquire and augment Indian efficiency and to establish the right kind of international contacts. In certain parts of the world, the people of India are dubbed as "coolies;" the blame is with the Indian people for not doing their share by sending out the very best of their men and women to all parts of the world. Ancient India, which was held in honour by all countries, did not send coolies abroad ; on the contrary sent teachers, commerce-kings and colonists. *India should learn from England that she should not send second class men to do a first class job. One Vivekananda, one Tagore, one Gandhi, one C. R. Das, one Tata, one Bose and a few others have received world recognition, because they have climbed to the top of the ladder of achievement through their own efforts. If India wants to be respected by the world, then she must produce more first rate men and women; and she should send thousands* *of Indian scholars, merchants and representative men and women all over the world.*

In this connection I must mention that to-day there are more Indian students in England than any other part of the world outside of India. According to the latest statement of Prof. Paranjpye there are at least on the average 1,500 Indian students in English Colleges and Universities and they spend at the rate of no less than £150,000 a year. What is India gaining by them in an international way, in a cultural way and in the field of economic development of the country? The majority of these students are in English universities to qualify themselves so that they will secure good positions in various departments of the Government of India. This is very important. *But it is needless to emphasise that if 1,500 students were scattered in various universities of continental Europe they would have done greater service to India by bringing about a closer and better contact with Europe and India culturally, economically and politically.*

In conclusion, I wish to emphasise the point that if India wishes to gain respect from the world, if India wishes to secure recognition abroad, if India is to secure and preserve her interests abroad, Indian national efficiency must be increased and Indian universities should afford facilities in training young men and women in all foreign languages and should not restrict its activities in teaching English alone. Indian universities should send a large number of "Travelling Fellows" to foreign universities. It is also imperative to raise the standard of Indian universities and to establish Chairs on history and culture of other peoples—French, German, Italian, Russian, Chinese, Japanese and of course American and English.

There is a distinct responsibility for those Indian students who are now abroad and who have realised the immense significance of establishing international contacts in various ways and specially through universities. Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G., in an address, entitled, "The Value of

Knowledge in International Relations," delivered before the International Federation of University Women, held at Bedford College for Women, England, July 12, 1920, made the following significant remark :—

> " Then the universities are becoming increasingly important in the life of nations. The roots are going deeper and deeper every year into national life. As countries become democratic so do the roots go down deeper and become more democratic. I quite agree that universities are not everything in national life, and that rapprochement and good understanding between universities of different nations would not by themselves ensure good relations between nations. *But I am equally sure of this, that you will not have good relations on a solid and secure basis between two nations unless the universities of these two nations are in touch and friendship with each other. That, I think, is absolutely true.*"

If you are interested, as I take it that you are interested, in promoting cultural, economic as well as political interests of India in an international scale, then, do all you can to spread correct information regarding India through every avenue of human activity, and particularly the universities of the world. You will meet with all kinds of obstacles, but you must work for the regeneration of India at home and abroad and you will receive support from all those who believe in World Peace, Human Rights and World Brotherhood.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE MAUKHARIS OF KANOJ[1]

After the subjugation of the Ganges-Lauhitya Valley by Jnanendra Yaśodharman (533-34 A.D.), the conqueror of Mihirkula, the empire of the Later Guptas was perhaps for some time under his supremacy, but it was not long under his tutelage. For a Damodarpur copperplate inscription of 533-34 A.D.—the very year of the Mandasor stone inscription that proves the possession of Pundravardhana (a province lying between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya by Yaśodharman),—represents the son and viceroy of a Gupta King, a Paramabhattâraka-Mahârâjâdhirâja-Pṛthivîpati (whose name is unfortunately lost in the inscription), as governing over Puṇḍravardhanabhûkti. The meteoric rise of Yaśodharman had thus a logical breakdown and, as evidences stand, it was not long after this that the Gupta Empire was revived by Kṛṣṇagupta who was the first of a long line of kings that continued the tradition of the Imperial Guptas up to the end of the 7th century A.D., and then after an ignominious servility of almost half a century during the reign of Harṣa-Śilâditya, again continued up to the 8th century A.D. But the empire could not be revived in its entirety. The severe blow of the Puṣyamitras (?), the invasions of the Huṇas and the conquest of Yaśodharman had completely shattered the fabric of the Empire and what was now revived was only the shadow of its former existence. And it was not long after the revival of the power that it was called upon to engage itself in a terrible contest with a rising power that was aspiring after the mastery of Northern India. This was the power of the Mukharas or the Maukharis.

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[1] The following authorities have been consulted in preparing this paper :—

1. C. V. Vaidya—History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. I.
2. H. C. Raychaudhuri—Political History of Ancient India (2nd Edn.)
3. R. D. Banerji—Bânglâr Itihâsa, Vol. I.
4. R. K. Mookerjee—Harṣa (Rulers of India series).
5. V. A. Smith—Maukharis, J. R. A. S.
6. Fleet—Later Gupta and Maukhari Inscriptions, C.I.I.
7. Hiranand Śâstrî—Hârâhâ Inscription—Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV.
8. R. Burn—Maukhari Coins —J. R. A.S., 1906.
9. Arch. Survey Report, Eastern Circle—Maukhari Seals, 1917-18.
10. Bana's Harṣacharita—Cowell and Thomas.
11. Bakpatirâja's Gauḍavahc—Ed. by Panduranga.
12. N. G. Majumdar—Ind. Antiquary, 1917.

This dynasty of the 'Mukharas' or the 'Maukharis'[2] played a very important part in the history of Northern India during the 6th century A.D., and also afterwards. The dynasty is now being given by the students of Indian history the due recognition it deserves. It would, therefore, be profitable to be acquainted with a somewhat detailed account of them.

Vâmana and Kaiyâta, the two famous expositors of Paṇini, belonging respectively to the 7th and the 13th century A.D., "take the term 'Mukhara' to be a patronymic signifying the descendants of Mukhara who must have been the originator or (âdipuruṣa) of the family" or the first to bring the family into prominence. The family was, therefore, named after him to perpetuate his memory.[3]

The family of the Maukharis must have been an ancient one. Both Paṇini and Patañjali had probably been acquainted with the term Maukhari. The scholiasts give three illustrations—Paṇikya, Bhaunikya and Maukharyâ—under the aphorism that explains the formation of the words in the '*Shyan*' affix (Pan. IV. I. 79). Moreover Dr. Fleet had already shown that the legend "Mukhalinam" written in Maurya Brahmi can be traced on a clay seal found at Gayâ. "Mukhalinam" is evidently a Prakṛt equivalent of Sanskrit " Mukharinam " meaning, " of the Maukharis " (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 114).

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[2] The dynasty was called both 'Mukhara' and Maukhari. The Hârâhâ inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 110) gives them the epithet 'Mukhara' whereas Harṣacharita calls them 'Maukhari.' Both these epithets are used somewhat loosely in all the records.

[3] "Whether Mukhara was a proper or an attributive name we have no means of ascertaining. But it will not be unreasonable to assume that it was a surname and that the man was so called for his being a leader or for his fighting in the forefront of his armies which he led into action, as it is such characteristics only which would go to make a man the founder of a line" (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 111).

The Harṣacharita seems to connect the dynasty with the 'Soma Vaṃśa' or lunar race. " Soma Sûrya-vaṃśâviva Puṣpabhûti Mukharavaṁsau "—so says Bâna. But we know that the Puṣpabhûtis belonged to the solar race and were regular worshippers of the Sun (*cf.* the names Âdityavardhana, Prabhâkaravardhana, etc., and also their records). So the Maukharis undoubtedly belonged to the lunar race or 'Somavaṃśa.' According to the author of the Hârâhâ inscription, the Maukharis were descendants of the hundred sons 'whom king Aśvapati obtained from Vaivaswata.'[4] On the authority of the Harṣacharita it may be said that they were Kṣatriyas and Bâna clearly states that they were "at the head of all royal houses " and "they were worshipped like Śiva's footprints by all the world." The invocatory verses of Bâna's 'Kâdambarî ' too, mention them as "crowned Maukharis" who honoured Bhatsu, the revered 'guru' of the poet.[5]

The Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasena, the Âsirgaḍh copper seal inscription of Śarvavarman, the Barâbar and Nagârjuni hill-cave inscriptions of Anantavarman, the Jaunpur Stone inscription of Iśvaravarman[6] and the Hârâhâ inscription of the reign of Iśânavarman mentioned above supply us with a detailed list and account of the Maukhari family of kings.

The Harṣacharita, too, gives us a contemporary account of the house and tells the tale of the political whirlpool in which the then king of the line became involved. The seat of the Maukhari Government, as it seems from the Harṣacharita, was at Kanoj. Grahavarman Maukhari, the king mentioned in the Charita, hailed from Kanoj, was killed at Kanoj, and Râjyaśrî, his queen was also imprisoned at Kanoj. After her reverses at the death of Grahavarman, she again settled herself there in the Maukhari capital where her brother Harṣa acted as regent under the title of Kumâra Śilâditya of Kanoj.[6]

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[4] Pundit Hirânand Sâstri thinks that Vaivaswata is ' Manu, who is supposed to be born of the Sun' from which he is inclined to deduce that the author of 'the Hârâhâ inscription seems to connect the dynasty with the Solar race.' I doubt if this deduction rests on assured ground—rather it is too far-fetched. Moreover, Dr. Ray Chaudhuri thinks (Political History of Ancient India, 2nd Ed., p. 371) that Vaivaswata is Yama and not Manu.

[5] Kadambari—Ridding, p. 1.

The first of the line was Harivarman, after whom came in succession Âdityavarman, Iśwaravarman and Iśânavarman. Iśânavarman, who is known from the Hârâhâ Inscription to have lived in 554-55 A.D. (611 V.S.), was a contemporary of Kumâraguta (III), the fourth king in succession of the line of Kṛṣṇagupta. It thus seems probable that the three Maukhari kings, Harivarman, Âdityavarman and Iśwaravarman were respectively contemporaries of the three Gupta kings, Kṛṣṇagupta, Harṣaguptâ and Jîvitagupta.

Harivarman, the Hârâhâ inscription states, had a surname, Jwâlâmukha. From a different source it is known that his wife was Jayaswâminî.[7] He had the title 'Mahârâja,' 'whose fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess and by affection (for him); who was like (the god) Chakradhara in employing his sovereignty for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life and who was the remover of the afflictions of (his subjects).'' Making concession for all that is hyperbole in this assertion, it may fairly be claimed that the dynasty began well and from what followed, we would be able to see that they continued well. Harivarman was succeeded by his son Âdityavarman who married Harṣaguptâ,—apparently a member of the Gupta family and most probably a sister or daughter of his contemporary Gupta king Harṣagupta. Their son and successor was Iśwaravarman. The Jaunpur stone inscription of this monarch records about him some facts which Fleet remarks,[8] 'it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Iśwaravarman or to one of his descendants' But let us quote the passage that undoubtedly refers to Iśwaṛavarman—

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[6] Doubts have been expressed as to Kanoj being the centre of the Maukhari Government. From the evidences cited above, one is naturally inclined to cast the vote in favour of Kanoj, without any apprehension of doubt, and there is no evidence to prove to the contrary.

[7] Maukhari seals found in Nâlandâ. Arch. Survey Report, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44

[8] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 229.

Nṛipatir = Iśvaravarmmâ...... ....(kṛi) p-anurâga-sāmita-kkrûr-âgam-opaddravair = lôk-ânanda-karair = guṇair guṇavatâṁ kô nâma...... ...... (a) dhisthitaṁ kshitibhujâm siṃhena siṃhâsanaṃ.[9]

From what is quoted it cannot be denied that he was successful in establishing himself as a very powerful king and effectively impressing his stamp upon his people.' He took his queen Upaguptâ, apparently from the Gupta family and was gradually raising the house into prominence and it is only natural that attempts were made to curb the power and prestige of the family.

" Dhârâ-mârgga-vinirgat-âgni-kanikâ...........dam. Vindhy-âddreh pratirandhram = Andhrapatinâ śaṃka-param-âsitam yâtô Raivatak-âchalam ....sâṃ vâraṇânâm ghatâsu vyâptesh = utkhâta-khaḍga-dyuti-khachita bhujeshv = Andhra-sênâbhatêshu," etc., etc.[10]

What can be made out from this very much damaged and incomplete inscription is that a certain king (whose name, unfortunately, is not known) from Dhârâ perhaps attacked his realm, as if like a spark of fire and that Iśwaravarman defeated the Andhras who were compelled to take shelter in the Vindhyas. It is not improbable that he followed up his conquering ra d up to the Raivataka mountain. Whatever we might conclude of his fight with the king of Dhârâ, the struggle with the Andhras must have been a very important factor of Iśwaravarman's reign, for it was during the reign of the next king too, that the Andhras came into conflict with the Maukharis and Iśânavarman explicitly claims his victory over the former.

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[9] "Iśwaravarmmâ ....with virtues which by means of compassion and affection alleged the troubles (caused) by the approach of cruel people and which effected the happiness of mankind ; who indeed of virtuous people.:.... ....by him, a very lion to hostile kings, the throne was occupied."

(Translation by Fleet.) *Ibid*, p. 230.

[10] "A spark of fire that had come from (the city of) Dhârâ...................the lord of the Andhras, wholly given to fear took up (his) abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountains.................went to the Raivataka mountain... ...:..........among the warriors of the Andhra army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants (and) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out," etc., etc.

Ibid.

So Iśwaravarman was succeeded by his son Iśânavarman, the king of kings or the Mahârâjâdhirâja. His wife was Lakṣmîdevî. From his imperial title we can sâfely assume that he was a very powerful king and became independent too, while his father, grandfather and great-grandfather were only Mahârâjas and most probably feudatories of the Guptas. He was, as already stated, a contemporary of Kumâragupta with whom he had to fight a very contested battle and in consequence of which he became independent and assumed the title of Mahârâjâdhîrâja.

The Hârâhâ inscription informs us that Iśânavarman conquered the Andhras, the Sulikas and the Gauḍas. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has already, in his "Political History of Ancient India" (2nd Ed., pp. 370-71), pointed out that the Andhra king defeated by Iśânavarman was probably Mâdhavavarman II of the Viṣṇukundin family who was aspiring after conquests in the Eastern regions and with that view in mind crossing the Godâvarî. We have seen, the struggle with the Andhras was not a sudden outburst, but had already presented itself during the reign of Īśanavarman's father. Whoever the Andhra king might be, it is not improbable that it was the same king whom the father and the son had to fight. As for the Andhras having possessed a strong elephant force, we have reference in the Jaunpur and Hârâhâ inscriptions. The Sulikas defeated by Īśânavarman were most probably the 'Châlukyas' or 'Châlikyas' as has rightly been pointed out by Dr. Raychaudhuri. The Châlukyas were at this time gradually trying to extend their power in Northern India. The pioneer at such an attempt was Kîrtivarman I who conquered Anga, Vanga and Magadha.[11] He perhaps tried at first to enter North India by the Narbada frontier when he was most probably given a push back by Îśânavarman. His later attempt by the eastern gate seems to have proved successful. The Gauḍas occupied the whole of what is now called Western Bengal on the seashore. This is why they are called "Samudrâśrayân" in the inscription. This was thus the beginning of the struggle of the Maukharis with the Gauḍas. A few generations later, we would be able to see, how this struggle finds its consummation in the deadly enmity of the Gauḍas under their king Śaśânka against the Maukhari king Grahavarman,—the husband of Râjyaśrî, and his allies.

But the most signal battle was fought with Kumâragupta (III), the contemporary Gupta king. The latter was, in all probability, defeated by Îśânavarman. It has been supposed that Kumâragupta (III) was victorious over Îśânavarman,[12] but no mention of victory on the part of Kumâragupta is made in any of the Maukhari or Gupta records. He claims to have "showed heroism" and "churned that formidable milk-ocean ......which was the army of the glorious Îśânavarman" but nothing else. There is not the slightest hint in the records of his claiming any victory over his 'formidable' adversary. On the contrary the context of the inscription gives us sufficient reasons for assuming that notwithstanding his 'showing heroism' in the battlefield and 'churning the army of Îśânavarman,' he in the long run met with defeat in the hands of his Maukhari feudatory. Humbled and humiliated he "went to Prayâg (and there) honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) with dry cowdung cakes, as if (simply plunging to bathe) in water." Fleet thinks that his funeral rites took place at Allahabad. In his opinion the verse does "not necessarily indicate that he placed himself on the

[11] Mahakuta pillar inscription.

[12] Raychaudhuri, p. 372.

funeral pyre when still alive.'' [13] But if we closely follow the relevant text in the inscription it seems that he proceeded directly from the field of battle to Prayâg or Allahabad and there placed himself on the funeral pyre (apparently unable to bear the humiliation of defeat).

The passage in question runs—

> '' Sa nripô Hara iva Śikhivâhanam tanayam || Utsarppad-vâla-helâ-chalita-kadalikâ-vichi-mala-vitanaḥ-prodyad-dhûli-jalaugha-bhramita-guru-mahâmatta-mâtanga-sailah | bhima śr-Iśânavarma-kshitipatisâsinaḥ sainya dughdoda-sindhur-llakshmi-samprâpti-hetuḥ sapadi vimathito mandari-bhûya yena || Saurya-satyavrata-dharô yaḥ *Prayāgo gato* dhane | ambhas-iva-karish-agnau magnaḥ sa pushpa pûjitaḥ ||''

The last line of the śloka quoted above clearly means that he plunged himself into fire '' when still alive.'' Notwithstanding all concessions to poetical interpretations of the passage, it cannot mean that his mortal remains adorned with flowers were burnt by his followers at Prayâg. The fact is clear that he himself mounted the funeral pyre. What follows next is that he must have been defeated by Iśânavarman, otherwise there can scarcely be any reason of plunging himself into the funeral pyre just after the battle? It was certainly the humiliation of defeat. The battle, it is needless to say, was not fought at Prayâg; it must have been fought elsewhere whence defeated and humbled, he '' went to Prayâg '' (Prayâgo gataḥ). Had the battle been fought at Prayâg, the mention of '' Prayâgo gataḥ '' would have been superfluous. It, therefore, seems to be sufficiently reasonable to assume that Kumâragupta was defeated by Iśânavarman and this assumption finds support in what would subsequently follow.

This brilliant victory over his overlord warranted him to lay claims to imperial titles which placed him and his successors in bolder relief than his less powerful and less fortunate predecessors. Moreover, his fame spread far and wide 'for his knowledge of Varṇâśrama-dharma and keeping his subject in prosperity and contentment.'[14]

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[13] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 206 (Foot note).

Iśânavarman was succeeded by his son Sarvavarman Maukhari, known both from coins and inscriptions. The Hârâhâ inscription gives to Īśânavarman, another son named Sûryavarman.[15] He does not seem to have mounted the throne ; it is not improbable that he predeceased his father. Sarvavarman was apparently a contemporary of Damodaragupta in as much as his father was a contemporary of Kumâragupta. During the reign of these two kings, the Gupta-Maukhari contest turned a new chapter—by no means a glorious one in the history of the Guptas. The verdict of the struggle between Īśânavarman and Kumâragupta was repeated. Both the Maukhari and the Gupta king met in a terrible contest in which Damodaragupta "became unconscious (and expired in the fight)." It was a severe blow to the Gupta power of Magadha. It suffered a serious reverse ; the supremacy over Magadha with which they were so long associated was temporarily lost and it was not at least half a century had elapsed that they could revive the lost empire again in their ancestral capital during the reign of Âdityasenadeva. There cannot, practically, be any doubt as to the loss of Magadha after the ignominious defeat and death of Dâmodaragupta, for it is only natural that after two consecutive victories that were decisive (at least the latter one) the Maukharis would bid fair to crown themselves with the final trophy, the annexation of Magadha. This would explain why Mahâsenagupta and one of his successors, Devagupta, are mentioned as kings of Malwa[16] (Mâlava) and not of Magadha.

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[14] Maukhari seals found in Nalanda, Arch. Survey Report, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44.

[15] The Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahaśivagupta mentions one Suryavarman, who was "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of their supremacy over Magadha." Dr. Raychaudhury (*ibid*) is inclined to identify this Sûryavarman with Sûryavarman mentioned in the Hârâhâ inscriptions. But there is difficulty in accepting this identification. Sûryavarman of the Hârâhâ inscription lived probably in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. if not earlier. But Sûryavarman of the Sirpur inscription can in no way be placed earlier than the middle of the 8th century, A.D. This Sûryavarman came in possession of Magadha probably during the period of Mâtsyanyâya that overtook Eastern India throughout the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 8th century A.D.

Evidences, as they stand, have led us to conclude that the Magadhan region came under the influence of the Maukharis. Let us now try to see at once how this newly acquired territory was handled by them. The finds of the Maukhari records prove that the dynasty consisted of two groups. The inscriptions of the direct line have been found in U. P. and those of the other group in the Gaya district and the adjoining localities of Bihar. Three names of the Gayâ branch we know—Yajña-varman, Śârdûlavarman and Anantavarman. One inscription of Anantavarman has been found on the Barâbar hills of the Gayâ district, and two others on the Nâgârjuni hill-cave. The Gayâ Maukharis, as is known from their records, were a feudatory family. Śârdûlavarman is explicitly stated to be a Mahâsâmanta-chûḍâmaṇi. They were a collateral branch of the Maukharis of Kanoj and it seems probable that they ruled in the Bihar region as governors of the Kanoj Maukharis. They were perhaps charged with the viceroyalty of the Magadhan region after its loss by Dâmodaragupta.

Sarvavarman, the conqueror of Dâmodaragupta was most probably succeeded by Avantîvarman Maukhari of the Deo-Bârânak inscription. Bâna, in his Harṣacharita, also mentions one Avantivarman as the father of Grahavarman Maukhari. It is almost certain that the two are identical. The Deo-Bârânak inscription which records his name, refers to the confirmation of a grant of a village both by his father and himself. The village was originally granted by Bâlâditya of the Guptas. The record is a proof of the fact that the Guptas had by this time also lost the possession of the Deo-Bârânak region which came to be acquired by the Maukharis. The Gupta contemporary of Avantîvarman was, in all probability, Mahâsenagupta. We have already said that Mahâsenagupta was king, not of Magadha but of Mâlava[17] where he retired and began to rule after the loss of Magadha. He was perhaps eager to get back the lost possessions of the empire. But he alone was not capable of doing this and, therefore, sought for an ally and readily he got one. In the west, a family was gradually rising into prominence and striving for the future supremacy over Northern India. This was the Puṣpabhuti family of Thâneśwar. Âdityavardhana was the first important king of this family and to him Mahâsenagupta gave his sister Mahâsenaguptâ in marriage, and later on sent his two sons as hostages to the Thâneśwar court. Apparently, it was not an honourable piece of alliance nor was it a successful treat, for the opportunity did never come as we know, during the rule of Mahâsenagupta, to fight out the Gupta-Maukhari issue, in which the Puṣpabhûtis might side with the Gupta interest. And when it did come after a generation, the Puṣpabhûtis stood not by the Guptâs but by the Maukharis, for already in the mean-time the Thâneśwar house had contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Maukharîs by giving Râjyasrî, the daughter of Prabhâkarvardhana, in marriage to Grahavarman Maukhari, the son of Avântivarman. But that is anticipating events.

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[16] This Mâlava was most probably Purva-Mâlava, that lay between Prayâga and Ujjain round Bhilsa. This Mâlava could not be Molapo of Yuanchwang, for it was then under the Maitrakas of Valabhi. It could not also be Ujjain for Yuanchwang mentions that Ujjain was being ruled by Brahmin Kings and the Guptas, whatever they might be, were not Brahmins. Vâtsyâyana states that Ujjain was called western Mâlava and where only Mâlava is mentioned (without any prefix) it must be taken to mean Eastern Malwa. "Ujjainideśa bhavastu evapara Mâlavya—Mâlavya iti Purva-Mâlava bhava." (Ind. Antiquary, 1878. Foot-note.) I owe this reference to Dr. Raychaudhury.

We have already said, that up till now we do not know Mahâsenagupta coming in any conflict with the Maukharis but he had a new enemy to cope with. Far off from Kanoj, in

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[17] This fact can be gleaned from the Harṣacharita where Bâna mentions Mahâsenagupta as a 'Mâlava-râja' when he speaks of his two sons Kumâragupta and Mâdhavagupta as " Mâlava-râja-putram." Devagupta is also described as a "King of Malwa." What this Mâlwa or Malava means, we have already explained. Bâna's statement can only be reconciled if we accept what I have already put forward that Magadha was lost to the Guptas in the fight in which Dâmodaragupta died and Magadha was annexed to the empire of the Maukharis. Mahâsenagupta was thus compelled to retire to Mâlava—always one of the most important strongholds of the Guptas—and came to be known as Mâlava-râja.

Kâmrûpa, in the easternmost corner of India on the banks of the Lauhitya, a new power was flourishing under the leadership of Suṣthitavarman. This Susthitavarman is mentioned in the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasena as being defeated by Mahâsenagupta on the banks of the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra and seems most probably to be identical with the king of the same name of Kâmrûpa.[18] With the glory of this victory constantly sung on the banks of the Lauhitya, Mahâsengupta ended his days.

Avantivarman was succeeded by his son Grahavarman. With him opened an eventful chapter in the history of Northern India—intertwined with matrimonial relations and diplomatic alliances—which only ended with the beginning of the overlordship of Harṣa Śilâditya. On the Gupta throne of Mâlava, Mahâsenagupta was succeeded by Devagupta who is mentioned in the Harṣacharita as a "king of Mâlava"[19] He was perhaps an ambitious king and could never forget his legitimate claims upon Magadha. He had, therefore, to prepare for an attack with the Maukharis, now represented by Grahavarma. But it was not a very easy task. Various powers were now contending for supremacy in Northern India and each power tried to strengthen itself by alliance with the other and as is usual in such circumstances, a policy of diplomatic marriage relations was taken recourse to. As we have seen the Thâneśwar power was gradually growing into importance and a desire for the establishment of a strong empire in Northern India naturally led to a marriage alliance with the Maukharis of Kanoj, the confirmed enemies of the Guptas. Râjyaśrî, the only daughter of Prabhâkaravardhana and Harşavardhana, was accordingly given in marriage to Grahavarma. Devagupta dared not give battle to the combined force of the Maukharis and the Puşpabhutis. He therefore sought for an alliance and easily got one in Śaśânka, the king of Gauḍa and Karṇasuvarṇa. Both the powers were now well equipped to engage in a struggle and the 'casus belli' was served when Devagupta suddenly attacked Grahavarma, killed him and imprisoned his wife Râjyaśrî. This was an insult and a direct challenge to the Puşpabhûti house. Râjyavardhana, the eldest son of Prabhâkaravardhana immediately accepted the challenge, marched out to meet the enemy, defeated and killed Devagupta before his ally Śaśânka could come to his help.[20]

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[18] F. W. Thomas, C. V. Vaidya and R. K. Mookerjee are of opinion that Suṣthitavarman was a Maukhari, and a king of Kanoj. I hold that this assumption is open to serious objection, and that Suṣthitavarman was a king of Kamrup (Raychaudhury, p. 373, 2nd Edition). In the inscriptions he is nowhere mentioned as a Maukhari, on the contrary in the Nidhanpur copper plates Suṣthitavarman is mentioned as the father of Bhaskara-varman, the king of Kamrup (on the river Lauhitya). And the Aphsaḍ inscription clearly states that Mahasenagupta's "mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious Suṣthitavarman............is constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lauhitya." If Suṣthitavarman had been a Maukhari we do not see any reason why Mahasenagupta's victory should be sung on the far-off banks of the Lauhitya. There is nothing to associate the Maukharis or the Guptas with any kingdom on the Lauhitya; neither the later Guptas, nor the Maukharis seem to have extended their conquests up to that limit. There is nothing in the 'context of the inscription' to show that he was a Maukhari and that he was not a king of Kamrup for which there is already the evidence in the Nidbânpur plate and also his association with the Lauhitya. And when we think of the relation of Bhaskarvarman, king of Kamrup. with the Maukharis and the Puspabhutis, we cannot really doubt Suṣthitavarman's being a Kamrup king and his enmity with the Maukharis.

[19] Bâna states that it was a king of Mâlava who defeated and killed the Maukhari king Grahavarma, the husband of Râjyaśri. The Mâlava king who murdered Grahavarma cannot but be Devagupta, for the Harṣacharita does not fail to say that, infuriated at the murder of Grahavarman, Râjyavardhana immediately set out from Thâneswar and killed the Mâlava king and the name of this Mâlava king is disclosed by the Madhuvan copper plate of Harṣa where Râjyavardhana is described as having killed Devagupta and others "like wicked horses." The inscription does not mention any other king except Deva-

gupta. It can thus easily be understood that the 'wicked Malava king' can be no other than Devagupta of the Madhuvan copper plate.

Scholars have disagreed about the relation of Devagupta with Mahasenagupta. Whether he was a brother or cousin or one of the sons of Mahasenagupta is not certain but that he was a Gupta king who immediately succeeded Mahasenagupta on the Mâlava throne, there cannot be the least doubt. We know that Kumâragupta and Mâdhavagupta, both sons of Mahâsenagupta were sent as hostages to the Puşpabhûti court and Devagupta was thus the only member of the family left to succeed to Mahâsenagupta's position.

[20] Râjâno yudhi duşṭa bâjina iva Śrî Devaguptâ dayaḥ |
Krita yena Kasha prahâra bimukta sarve samam Samjatâh ||
Utkhâya dvisato bijitya basudhâm Kritvâ prajânâm priyam |
Prânânujjhitabânarâti bhavane Satyânurudhena jah ||

Epigra. Indica, Vol I, p. 72, Vol. VI, p. 210.
(Madhuvan copper-plate of Harsa.)

Râjyavardhana on his way back was probably met by Saśânka who, according to the Harṣacharita, deluded Râjya to his camp and murdered him unarmed and defenceless.[21] This statement of Bâna finds corroboration in the records of Yuanchwang wherein it is stated that Râjya was "treacherously murdered" by Saśânka.[22] The Madhuvan copper plate too, hints at the same fact when it says that Râjya gave up his life in his enemy's camp (Prâṇanujjhitabânarâti-bhavane) where he had gone to keep his word of honour (Satyânurudhena). Mr. R. D. Banerjee and Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that these evidences at our disposal are all coloured and one-sided and are disinclined to accept the 'treacherous murder' attributed to Saśânka, 'the first national hero of Bengâl.' Mr. Banerjee thinks that Râjya was killed in an open fight with Saśânka; but we have no evidence available at present to support this view; and, in fact, unless and until further evidences be brought to light to speak to the contrary, Saśânka shall ever stand accused of this act of treachery and cowardice as many other characters do stand in history.

Thus Râjyavardhana met with his end, and eventually Harṣa came to the throne. The sequel of the story is too well known and need not be detailed here. Râjyaśrî was rescued and brought back to Kanoj where she, the Maukhari Queen, passed her peaceful days of a Hindu widow in pursuit of religious studies and practices, and her attendance in court was not also infrequent. Her brother Harṣavardhana ruled from Kanoj in her name as Râjaputra Silâditya.[23]

It should never be supposed, as has been done by some, that the Maukharis and the Guptas were hereditary enemies. When the Imperial Gupta power was weakened by foreign invasions, several local dynasties came into prominence of whom the

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[21] Gauḍâdhipena mithyopachâropachita biśwâsam muktaśastram ekâkinam biśravdham swabhavanam eva bhrâtaram (*i.e.* Râjyavardhanam) byâpâditam. aśrausit (Harsavardhanah) Harsacharitam.

[22] Watter's Yuanchwang, Vol. I, p. 343.

[23] *Ibid.*

Maukharîs of Kanoj and the Puṣpabhûti proved to be the most powerful. The Maukharis probably began as feudatories of the Guptas who were at first in friendly terms with them. This is evident from the marriage relations that were contracted between the two families. With the help of these matrimonial alliances the Maukharis were gradually increasing their power and with the accession of Îśânavarman they came to such prominence that Îśânavarman probably ventured to lay his hands upon some Gupta possessions for which Kumâragupta was compelled to fight with him. The struggle only came to an end with Devagupta when he killed Grahavarman and when next, he himself was killed.

The Maukhari dynasty of Kanoj did not come to an end with the death of Grahavarman. The Maukhari Empire, no doubt, ceased to exist but the family continued at Kanoj. Âdityasena who revived the Gupta Empire in Magadha after the death of Harṣa, gave his daughter in marriage to one Bhôgavarman, the Maukharî king.[24] Âdityasena's father Mâdhavagupta was an associate of Harṣa, brother-in-law and junior contemporary of Grahavarman. Between Grahavarman and Bhôgavarman thus intervened only one generation; Bhôgavarman, therefore, may be assumed to have ruled during the latter half of the 7th century A.D. This marriage alliance leads us to think that the age-long feud between the Maukharis and the Guptas at last came to an end and friendly relations were once more established as it did exist for three generations from Kriṣnagupta to Jivitagupta. Bhôgavarman also established friendly relations with the Lichchavis of Nepal and gave his daughter Vatsâdevi in marriage to Śivadeva Lichchavi of Nepal. Their son Jayadeva was married to Râjyâmatî, daughter of Harṣadeva of Kamrup.[25]

After Bhôgavarman the Maukhari dynasty probably suffered a lapse of another generation but the imperial glory of the dynasty was revived by one Yaśovarman who had his capital at Kanoj. Yaśovarman seems to have flourished during the first half of the 8th century A.D. when he was one of the most powerful kings in Northern India. He has been immortalised by his court-poet Bâkpatirâja in his "Gauḍavaho kâvya." This Yaśovarman, in all probability, seems to have belonged to the Maukhari family of Kanoj.[26] This is a supposition that I am going to put forward here but the supposition seems to rest on assured grounds. First, Yaśovarman's centre of government was at Kanoj which had all along been associated with the Maukharis. Secondly, he comes probably, only a couple of decades after Bhôgavarman. Thirdly, his name ends with the patronymic 'Varman' which is invariably connected with the Maukharis. Fourthly, the ruler of Kanoj who comes after Yaśovarman is Vajrâyûdha [27]—apparently one, who can in no way be connected with the Maukhari family. The patronymic of his successors ends in Āyūdha and not 'Varman' (*c.f.*, Indrâyûdha, Chakrâyûdha). And lastly, the "Gauḍavaho" represents Yaśovarman as a 'Somavamśî Kshatriya,' *i.e.* belonging to the lunar race of the Kṣatrîyas, and so were also the Maukharis.

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[24] A Nepalese inscription, Ind. Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 178.

[25] *Ibid.* Râjyâmatî has been described as "Bhagadatta Kulajâ" and hence it is deducible that Harṣadeva was the king of Kamrup.

Under Yaśovarman ruling at Kanoj the Maukharîs shone out in their last flickering of life and the last king of the line was perhaps the greatest of the family. His exploits have been recorded in a Mârhâtti Prakrit poem by his court-poet Bâkpatirâja—the main episode of the poem being the killing of the Gauḍa king. The identity of Yaśovarman has been sufficiently established by his mention in Chinese records as I-cha-fon-mo and also in the chronicles of Kâśmîr (Râjatarangini of Kahlana).

The exploits recorded in the Gauḍavaho are of doubtful historical value except the main topic of the defeat and killing of the Gauḍa king. According to the court-poet, Yaśovarman, out on his 'digvijaya,' first came on the river 'Son' whence he proceeded to the Vindhyas with his army. Fearing his approach, the Gauḍa king who was also the king of Magadha, fled and Yaśovarman entered his territory and fixed his camp here. The Gauḍa king returned, a battle was fought and he was killed. Yaśovarman next proceeded to the Vanga kingdom (*i.e.*, East Bengal) whose king too submitted before his conquering sword. Neither the name of the Gauḍa or Magadha king, nor that of the Vanga king is given and Yaśovarman's further conquest can hardly be given any value. He most probably founded that city in Magadha called Yaśovarmapur after his name, perhaps to commemorate his eastern victories. Yaśovarmapur is alluded to in an inscription of Devapâla, the third Pâla king.[28]

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[26] The suggestion had already been made by V. A. Smith, J.R.A.S.

[27] Karpuramanjarî—Râjaśekhara.

But his growing power and gradual extension of dominions roused the jealousy of the king of Kâśmîr who was now aspiring after the position of an imperial ruler and was gradually rising into prominence in North Indian affairs. This king was Muktâpiḍa Lalitâditya. The contest betweeen Yaśovarman and Lalitâditya was, therefore, the contest for supremacy in North India and it was decided against the Kanoj king. Yaśovarman "showed his back to the fiercely shining Lalitâditya" and "became by his defeat a panegyrist of his (Lalitâditya's) virtues"[29] It was, perhaps, before his defeat by the Kâśmîr king that he sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor which is alluded to in the annals of that country. The date of this mission led by his minister Seng-po-ta is 731 A.D.

With the defeat of Yaśovarman the Maukhari family of Kanoj became extinct. The family that had contested for supremacy in Northern India for well nigh two hundred years and succeeded to a great extent to achieve that, was at last extinguished. But they were able to turn the tide of the current of Indian history of that period. To them must be assigned the credit of the change of the political centre of gravity from Magadha to Kanoj which, from this time, became the most important political centre of Northern India. Kâśmîr from the North, Gauḍa and Magadha from the East, the Gurjara Pratihâras from the West and the Râṣtrakutas from the South—all had their greedy look turned towards "Mahodayaśrî."[1]

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[28] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, p. 311.

[29] Râjatarangini, Chap. IV, Verses 140-144. Stein, p. 134. Vol. I.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

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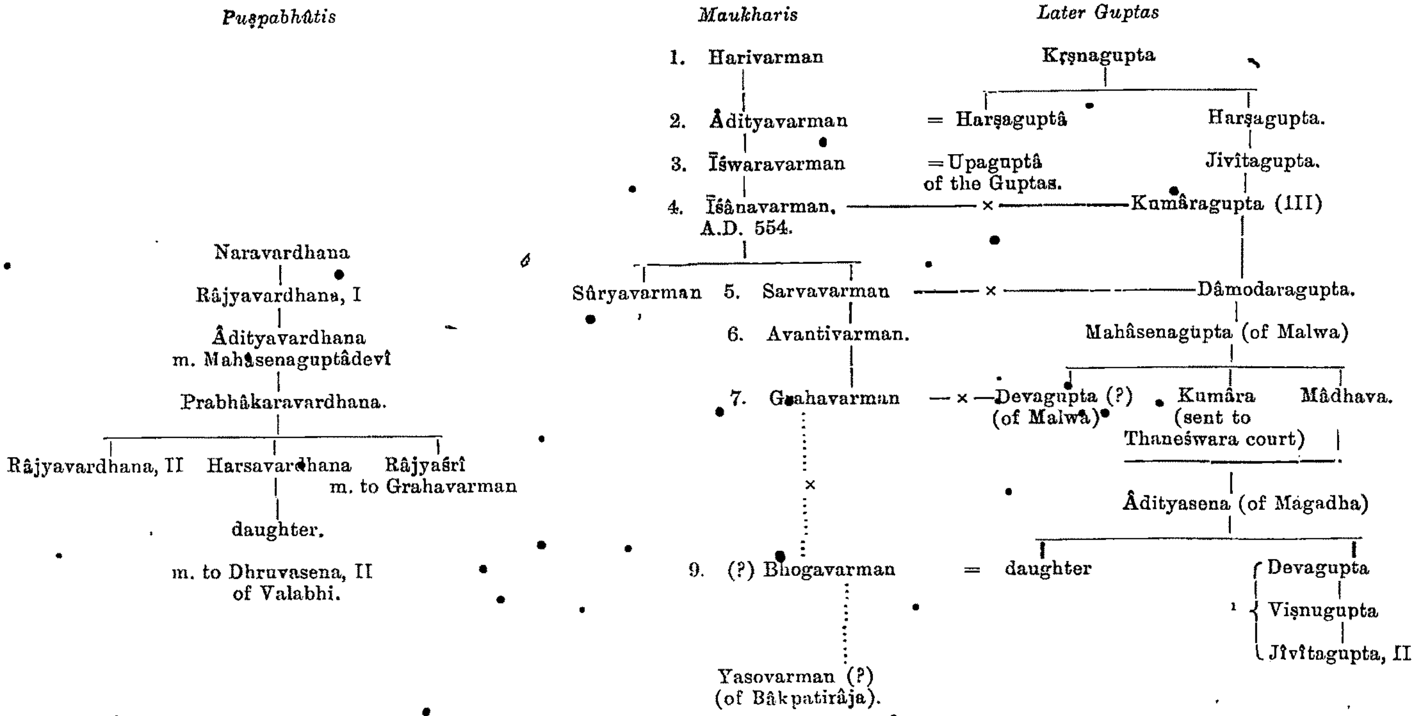
[1] For the genealogical table explaining the historical sequence, see the next page.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE EXPLAINING THE HISTORICAL SEQUENCE


Puṣpabhûtis
Maukharis
Later Guptas
1. Harivarman
Kṛṣnagupta
2. Âdityavarman
= Harṣaguptâ
Harṣagupta.
3. Îśwaravarman
= Upaguptâ of the Guptas.
Jivîtagupta.
4. Îśânavarman, A.D. 554.
×
Kumâragupta (III)
Naravardhana
Râjyavardhana, I
Âdityavardhana m. Mahâsenaguptâdevî
Prabhâkaravardhana.
Sûryavarman
5. Sarvavarman
×
Dâmodaragupta.
6. Avantivarman.
Mahâsenagupta (of Malwa)
7. Grahavarman
×
Devagupta (?) (of Malwa)
Kumâra (sent to Thaneśwara court)
Mâdhava.
Râjyavardhana, II
Harsavardhana
Râjyaśrî m. to Grahavarman
daughter.
×
Âdityasena (of Magadha)
m. to Dhruvasena, II of Valabhi.
9. (?) Bhogavarman
= daughter
Devagupta
1
Viṣnugupta
Jîvîtagupta, II
Yasovarman (?) (of Bâkpatirâja).

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[1] One of them was perhaps the "Sakalottarapathanâtha" defeated by Châlukya Vinayâditya.

A STRAY THOUGHT

A FALLING LEAF.

I stood under a tree. A leaf fell from it and touched my feet. I took it up and looked at it minutely. It had fallen before its time. Its life was cut short by an unseen hand. How ruthless must that power be! The colour was dark green, the blue thread-like veins yet pulsated with life. Its premature fall amused me and I looked up. The tree stood motionless,—no sign of grief or commotion. Its composed outlook struck me with a little surprise. No one cares for such a trifling incident in the life of a tree. What reason have I to feel for the falling of a solitary leaf when numerous such leaves drop down daily? I might stand there for centuries pondering and brooding over the death of this innocent leaf, but would that bring me any nearer to the unexplained cause? I could not persuade my mind to take it unchallenged.

Leaves fall. There is no mourner for them. Do they grow only to fall and increase the volume of dead matter? So long it stuck to its place, it was a part of the tree and shared with it the changes of wind and weather. It had a life which had merged itself in the larger life of the tree.

I asked the winds, the sun, the moon, the stars who have existed since eternity, who have seen my birth and who will see the dissolution of this my clay mould into the elements of nature out of which it has sprung, why was this so? Gusts of wind came and ruffled my garments. The sun heedless of my perplexity ran his usual course and reclined for rest on the western horizon. The stars appeared in the twilight sky and like sentinels took up their appointed place in breathless silence.

I expected that the birds would notice the fall of this leaf. They would solemnly protest against this wanton cruelty. But no!—They were busily engaged in finding out a night's shelter.

Poor leaf—you had played with the evening and the morning breeze, you had reflected the rays of heaven. You had held upon your glossy surface the pearly dewdrops at night—but all your worth is now forgotten.

Failing to find any response I concluded that when cosmos evolved out of chaos, the element of anarchy was not annihilated.

RASHRANJAN BASU

THE DOG-ROSE IN THE HEDGE

The days on swift revolving wheels
Bring back the dog-rose time
When, ten waste years ago, you first
Came to me in your prime.

How fresh the fragrance from your bloom!
How level-poised your glance,
Pricking the nerves to ecstasy,
Making the pulses dance!

O golden hours when face to face
We stood or sat agaze!
O blissful hours, when side by side
We thrid the headland's maze!

The sea half vested, half betrayed
Each gracious, glistening limb,
As red-rose cheek or glowing thigh
Flashed o'er the water's brim.

Alas! too soon relentless Time
Forbade that converse sweet,
And ne'er but in some world to come
Shall Ind with England meet.

P. MONDFORT

HISTORY OF SEVA-GY

[*Translator's Note.*—Several French travellers, merchants, physicians and adventurers visited India during the middle of the 17th century. Some of them, like Bernier and Tavernier, came to the country before the first sack of Surat, others like Thevenot and Carré arrived at that famous port when Shivaji had already become a terror to the timid merchants trading there. It is, therefore, natural that Shivaji should be mentioned in their published and unpublished works, though their information cannot be always expected to be accurate. Robert Orme, that indefatigable and industrious historian, was familiar with the works of Tavernier (1642-1666), Bernier (1655-1667), Thevenot (1665-1667), Dellon (1669-1676), Carré (1668-1673), De La Haye (1670-1674), and an anonymous work entitled *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales* published at Paris in 1677. He mentions *Histoire de Sevagi et de son successeur Nouveaux Conquerans dans l'Inde by* Pere D'Orleans, Jesuit, added to his *Histoire des deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont sujugue la China* (Paris 1688), but does not seem to have, any knowledge of the unpublished manuscript of François Martin, the famous Governor of Pondichery, "Memoires sur l'etablissement des colonies Françaises aux Indes Orientales, 1664-1694." Nor does he refer to the contemporary letters of Baron and Blot now in the colonial archive of Paris or "Journaux des voyages de France a Suratte a la côte de Malabar, a celle de Coromandel, Malaca Syam, etc. par le navire le Vautour de la compagnie des Indes en 1676 jusqu'en 1680" (now in the Marine archive A. M. B^4. 7) which briefly refers to Shivaji's Karnatik expedition.

Of the published French works, Bernier, Tavernier, Dellon and Thevenot have long been rendered into English. The first three can be briefly dismissed as they have nothing but brief, though sometimes eulogistic, references to Shivaji. Thevenot, however, attempted a short biographical sketch of the Maratha hero, and Prof. J. N. Sarkar's claim for Pere d'Orleans' *Histoire de Sevagi* to be the earliest biography of that prince cannot, therefore be, maintained. Monsieur de Thevenot reached Surat Bar on the 10th January, 1666. He was a well educated man and his posthumous work was translated into English as early as 1687. Chapter XVI of *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot* (pp. 27-30) deals with Shivaji, and Orme was of opinion that Thevenot's account of Shivaji is more reliable than that of any other travellers. A short summary of the brief chapter may therefore be added here to illustrate its glaring inaccuracies and the comparative superiority of Carré over Thevenot as a biographer of Shivaji. According to Thevenot Shivaji was born at Bassein and was 35 in 1664 when he sacked Surat. Thevenot does not mention the Afzal Khan incident but tells us that Shivaji's father died in prison at Bijapur. His version of the surprise night attack on Shaista Khan is also slightly different from the current account. Shivaji, he informs us, induced one of his officers to enlist in the Moghul service with a body of cavalry and this man so far won the confidence of Shaista Khan that Shivaji had no difficulty in surprising him in his bed chamber and taking away a daughter of the Khan who was treated with all honour. According to Thevenot Shivaji himself explored the shortest and safest route to Surat in the disguise of a Fakir. As to the amount of the spoil the rich city yielded, the French writer says—"It is believed at Surat that this Raja carried away in jewels, gold and silver to the value of above thirty French millions ; for in the house of one Banian he found twenty-two pound weight of strung pearls besides a great quantity of others that were not as yet pierced " (p. 29). We are also told that the convent of the Capuchins and the Christians in general were spared at the request of Father Ambrose. Jai Sing's expedition is omitted but Shivaji's visit to the imperial court is described. The Maratha prince effected his escape by means of a passport he had secured on the pretence of joining the Moghul expedition to Kandahar. Thevenot shared the common belief of the time that the hardships of the journey had caused the death of Shivaji's young son. His brief account is concluded as follows : " The Raja is short and tawny, with quick eyes that shew a great deal of wit. He eats but once a day commonly, and is in good health ; and when he plundered Surrat in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, he was but of thirty-five years of age."

De La Haye has not much to say about the Maratha hero. He mentions the first sack of Surat (pt. 1, 106 of his Journal) and informs us that the European nations removed their belongings from the doomed city. He further adds (pt. 1, p. 110) that the Musulmans of Surat were compelled to undergo some expenses to defend their city from the expeditions of Shivaji, a rebel prince who had plundered Surat thrice within fifteen years. Nothing is known about the author of *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales* except that he left for India in 1671 with M. Belot, the French Director of Surat, in the *Jean Boptiste* and he returned home after visiting Java and the adjacent islands. According to him Shivaji was descended from the ancient Emperors of India and a relative of the Great Moghul (p. 53). Shivaji's fleet manned by the Malabaris used to scour the sea and plunder the merchantmen. The spoils were distributed among the sailors and only a small portion was reserved for their master (p. 54). Shivaji used to extort money from the merchants of Surat at regular intervals, and in 1670 he surprised the city at the head of twenty-thousand good soldiers and took more than forty-thousand (Rupees ?) principally from the English and the Dutch Factories without demanding anything from the Royal Company of France. A company of eight hundred men had appeared before the French Factory but Monsieur Carron, the Director-General, took a firm attitude and succeeded in frightening away the disorderly Marathas. The city was plundered for eight days, a large number of houses and shops was demolished, and from one of the shops Shivaji took forty pounds of fine pearls besides a large quantity of gold chains and precious stones (pp. 55-57). *Histoire de Sevagi* by Pere D'Orleans was translated into English by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar a few years ago. "This account," says Orme, "which is very short is composed from one written at Goa. It does not give a single date, and only a few facts, without precision and better known before."

Barthelemy Carré had accompanied Carron, a Dutchman, who had left the service of his own country to be appointed Director-General of the French Company by Colbert and arrived at Surat in 1668. He went home in 1671 and returned to India again in 1672. In 1699 was published his *Voyage des Indes Orientales mêle de plusieurs histoires curieuses* at Paris in two small volumes which contained among other things an interesting biography of Shivaji whom Carré ardently admired. In the first volume was recorded what Carré had learnt about the great prince during his first voyage and his mistake about the date of the second sack of Surat was probably due to his absence from India when it occurred. He carried the narrative in his second volume supplementing the History of Seva-gy with what he learnt about him subsequently. The new chapter is therefore entitled "Sui te de L'histoire de Seva-gy" or sequel to the history of Seva-gy. It is needless to say that Carré's work is of unequal value. His account of the two sacks of Surat, the Maratha raid into Bardes and Shivaji's conciliatory policy towards the European merchant nations is substantially correct, but there is much in his History and its sequel that is no better than ordinary bazar gossip. About the early career of Shivaji he was hopelessly ignorant. Probably he had learnt during his sojourn in the country that Shivaji was originally a subject of the King of Bijapur but he did not know that Shivaji had already asserted his independence long before he surprised Shaista Khan in his seraglio. I am, however, unable to share Orme's view that "All that he says in the first, which relates only to the outset of Seva-gi's fortune, is either erroneous or too confused to be reduced to order." As the readers of the following pages will perceive, Carré shows a fairly good knowledge of the chronology of the events he sets to narrate. He starts with the Shaista Khan incident (1663), then follow the first sack of Surat (1664), the expedition of Jai Sing (1665), journey to Agra (1666) and the second sack of Surat (1670). The only instance of any chronological mistake that can be detected in this chapter is that regarding the Maratha invasion of Bardes which took place in 1667 but which Carré places before the arrival of Jai Sing in the Deccan. Otherwise this chapter is flawless if we judge it from a chronological point of view alone, and the historical errors, if we except the early career of Shivaji, are by no means serious. In mere volume Carré's biography of Shivaji is inferior only to *Vida e acçoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy* of Cosme da Guarda among contemporary European works on Shivaji, but in accuracy and wealth of details it was practically unrivalled at the time of its publication. Figures in square brackets indicate the page number of the original work and in every case the old spelling of proper names has been retained. I am very glad to avail myself of this opportunity of publicly acknowledging the help I have received from my friend and colleague Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A., in translating Carré's History of Shivaji which is now placed before the public —S. N. S.]

[49] In 1669 [1] Surate was for the second time plundered by the army of Seva-gy, one of the greatest men the East has ever seen. In his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities he does not ill resemble that great king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. The history of this Seva-gy, pertains in a way to that of Surate [50] and from what I have learnt during my voyages, nothing will be more appropriate for recital to our people who are born for war and more accustomed to fight than to trade.

After becoming the king of great Mogol and having placed on his head a crown that did not belong to him, Aurengzeb thought only of establishing his authority and of getting rid of all those he feared. He began exactly as do almost all the kings

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[2] 1670 is the correct date.

of the East. He shut his father in a castle for the rest of his days and took the lives of his two brothers, who to avenge the injustice he had done them, and pretending to release their father, must have put him to no indifferent embarrassment.

He then turned his thoughts [51] to war, not so much to extend the boundaries of his empire as to keep his subjects occupied at the commencement of his tyranny and make them submit to it by impoverishing them. There was also a *raison d'état* sufficiently important though very unjust and it appeared to him to be still stronger for his purpose in taking up arms.

The kingdoms of Golkonda, Visapour and Decan had entered into a league with a reciprocal promise of joining forces against their enemies as was done in Europe in ancient times, by the three great cities of Peloponnesus, Argos, Messene and Sparta. They maintained one another with all their power and this triple alliance had rendered them almost invincible. [52] Aurengzeb, who had formed a design of conquering these kingdoms, the grandeur of which was offending his pride and causing him some anxiety, made a grand levy of men and money throughout his state and sent a powerful army to the Decan under the command of his uncle Cakestkam. The Decan more exposed than the other (two) kingdoms was seldom without armies and was continually attacked by the Mogol and defended by its neighbours. This was between these crowns a source of eternal war as we today find the Netherlands to be between the kings of France and Spain.

Cakestkam took the field and at the rumour of his approach the kings of Visapour and Golkonda [53] took up arms. But the king of Visapour whether from weakness or cowardice seemed inclined to make up with the Mogol and forthwith become a tributary. He made this strange resolution without remembering that this would break up the league and ruin him through disunion. Seva-gy, the Prime Minister of the Prince, a personage dominating his master, was as usual present in the council when the king placed his plan before it and if he (Sivaji) had not spoken as was his duty to do the proposal would have been unanimously accepted. He fully perceived that flattery and a desire to please the king would quite suffice to approve so pernicious a resolution, at the same time he could easily see that the jealousy he inspired would turn [54] the opinion of the assembly in favour of the king and not of him and that if the king was not obliged, nobody cared if all were lost. He urged all the reasons that the interest of the state, the glory of the Prince, the fidelity due to the allies, could suggest to him in support of his opinion, the emulation of his rivals rendered him more eloquent than he usually was. He spoke with great ability about the forces of the kingdom, the advantages of its situation, and the resources necessary for war. (He expressed) that the Mogol was not (so) strong (as) to be feared, and that whatever the sentiments followed by others, contrary to his desire, his own was to defend themselves. He did not know how to pay his court at the cost of the [55] glory of his master. "As to the rest," said he, "I propose nothing that I am not prepared to execute at the risk of my life, and I make bold (to assert) that with very few troops I shall arrest the progress of Cakestkam or chase him out of the kingdom."

All proved useless ; number prevailed over good sense and weakness over valour. It was resolved not to postpone the despatch of an envoy to the Mogol but in the meanwhile the preparations were to proceed under the guidance of ordinary commanders and under the orders of the king. The generals had realised that in a decisive engagement Seva-gy would be charged with the sole care of military affairs and while he would earn honour they would remain in oblivion and [56] obscurity. This was what made them controvert his opinion with all ardour. They introduced into their discussion touches which applied to him personally and which to the king had this meaning that Seva-gy aspired to greater things under the pretext of repelling the Mogol. In short, they preferred to expose their country to the disgrace of slavery to having it liberated ever by the hands of another.

Seva-gy left the council shocked at their disregard of reason but he was still more offended at the defiance meted out to him personally. Henceforth he thought only of vengeance and of establishing himself over those who believed themselves to be over him. He had nothing else in view but resentment [57] and did not even reflect upon the crime he was going to commit. He employed his skill and discrimination to discover among the people whom fortune had attached to his person men who would enlist in his cause, men who loved prospects or friendship more than duty, if alliance be called friendship, alliance which is not formed from virtue.

Seva-gy having made his choice and having enlisted a sufficiently large number of nobles in his intrigue held aloof from the court on the plea of ill health and retired to his own lands there to devise some means of breaking forth with all success.

The departure of the minister displeased neither the king nor his favourites ; they had been equally smarting under the the superiority of his [58] genius. They felt relieved and paid no attention to the sequel. Seva-gy having assembled his partisans, seized a very strong citadel on the frontier of the kingdom near Decan and gave orders to march the troops that side. All the provinces were in commotion, and as grand levies were made the roads became full of soldiers rushing to join their regiments. This helped effectively to conceal his designs of revolt, and the troops of Seva-gy could not be distinguished from those of the king.

This lord who was immensely wealthy, possessed among other qualities a liberality [59] verging on extravagance. He caused large sums of money to be distributed through his officers among the soldiers to secure better unity among them and to attach them all to his person. They swore, every one of them, to follow him wherever he would lead them. Loaded with wealth and full of hope about the future these men had no difficulty in taking this oath. They promised more than what had been asked and added that they would serve him against their own king, a vain pledge that could bind only those who had no idea of law or government. He knew how to profit by the effect of presents and the good disposition of his army, and he decided to utilise it for an enterprise that would have seemed foolhardy [60] if it had not been justified by success. This was to attack in his own camp the commander of the Mogol troops who was entrenched very near Aurengabad, the capital of Decan where he was waging war. Seva-gy found a special pretext in the alliance formed between his master and the king of Decan. The desire of diverting the storm to help an allied prince revealed the courage and justice (underlying) of his enterprise. Indeed he needed only the order of the king of Visapour but on the other hand he himself felt pleased in carrying out an advice he had given and he drew upon the territories of Visapour all the forces of the Mogol who would not fail to wreak their vengeance. This prince (the Mogol) had no reason [61] to suspect that Seva-gy was not fighting under the orders of the king, his master, and he could not as yet be informed of the truth as he afterwards was. Before setting out Seva-gy left in his fortress a garrison of old veteran soldiers and officers under a commander whose courage and fidelity he knew, thus securing a key to the kingdom of Visapour and a place of security where he could retire when necessary. He then drew towards Aurengabad with only six thousand lightly armed men and the best troops he had.

The Mogol general was very far from his army, in an ill-fortified camp and near a seraglio where he spent his time in love and [62] pleasure. The city blockaded and within sight of the huge army he considered himself immune from insult. In the roads of the camp were seen only the eunuchs and slaves, the ministers of the general's pleasure. His treasures were not better guarded than his person. He had huge sums of gold and silver (coins) with which he provided the two things that demanded it most, war and debauchery. Seva-gy assembled his principal officers and when they had discovered the importance of his enterprise he apprised them of its feasibility and pointed out that it was easy for men like them to carry off Cakestkam with all his riches. He exaggerated the obligation which the king of Visapour, their common master, would owe them and the recompense [63] they must expect therefrom. For in the East, as among us, able men always know how to palliate the hardihood of their rebellions by misrepresenting the interest of the prince.

Near the camp of Cakestkam there was a small (but) very dense forest very suitable for feints of war. It was there that Seva-gy concealed his soldiers during daytime waiting for cool obscurity of night. Cakestkam was not upon his guard, and although he had his sentinels placed, the example of the commander had spoilt the soldier and discipline was but little observed. It is true that couriers had reported that troops had been seen on the outskirts of the forest, but no suspicion was entertained thereof, in the belief that it might be the residence of some great lord of Indostan, who was repairing to the court of the Mogol.

Night came. Seva-gy, without noise and under cover of darkness, conducted his troops to the middle of the enemy's camp. The night was extremely dark and there was no moon. One can imagine the disorder that prevailed when all of a sudden these men, hitherto unperceived by any, flung themselves sword in hand upon whomsoever they met. Forthwith the air resounded with the cries of the unhappy ones who felt to have been assailed unawares, and with the increase of the noise the alarm of the camp spread to the town. The Governor of the town thought that the advanced guards had been attacked and the enemy was preparing for [65] a general assault. It was not known whether the besiegers or the besieged were most troubled.

Both the parties considered themselves betrayed and as the horrors of the night still more increased their suspicions there was nothing that was not imagined at that moment. The son of the general, a young man of good countenance and great prospects, who had, unfortunately come from the army the day before, to receive his father's orders, immediately mounted a horse and was ready to offer resistance. He behaved valiantly and with a band of men whom he found about him, gave a performance of mettle and fire, as could be expected of a brave young boy, little accustomed, however, to the chances of war. His ardour carried him too far and his virtue cost him [66] his life. He fell pierced with wounds, a pitiable sight that must have moved even those who had caused it. Others who had held back, abashed by the sense of having abandoned such a commander, tarried no longer when they saw him dead. His father who was in his seraglio, learnt at that moment of the misfortune of his son and of his own and there was weeping and wailing all around. The women tore their hair and beat their faces surrounding a father rendered motionless by the magnitude of his affliction. At last the bravest (men in the army) hurried up and ranged themselves near his person, resolved to perish to the last, in order to prevent him from being captured, and they achieved their object by an obstinate defence.

The cause and the origin of the tumult were yet unknown. They did not know whether the enemies had come to surprise them or the army had risen against the general. To ascertain what it was, fire was lighted throughout the camp but their dismay redoubled when by the dim light of burning logs they recognised Seva-gy and the subjects of the king of Visapour. It was not suspected that all the soldiers of the king (of Bijapur) were not near and that they had not come to lay siege to the town after defeating the army. General Cakestkam was wounded during the tumult with two sword cuts and as it was necessary for him either to vanquish or to die, he performed deeds of extraordinary bravery. Day approached and they would have seen it clearly [68] if the light preceding it had not been obscured by the consumed logs. The rumour spread that the army of Visapour was on its march and its first ranks would soon be perceived. Seva-gy gave order for retreat, to avoid being overwhelmed as he would surely have been if his enemies could discover the small number of his men. The battle order was so well preserved among his troops that maddened as they were with killing and pillaging they left off as soon as the command was issued and retreated in good order, loaded with spoils of which however greater part they had to forego in obedience to orders. The density of the forest favoured their retreat and the fright they had left behind them, gave [69] them time to regain their posts, before the break of day. They were in safety but those in the camp no longer considered themselves secure.

Seva-gy was not content with this success, which could only satisfy a less ambitious person. But it gave him little pleasure to have pillaged the camp and to have committed such a great carnage there with so few troops without any loss except that of some soldiers. He had wanted to capture the Mogol general and he believed he had accomplished nothing for he had not been able to do what he wanted.

The second enterprise of Seva-gy was against Surate, which he caused to be pillaged by his army, with the object of enriching himself and to accustom his men to glory [70] and if that had not sufficient force, to follow him at least in the expectation of spoils. He had not got much of the treasures of this opulent city to carry on the long wars in which his revolt and valour engaged him yet he was not ignorant of the maxim of the seditious that once you rise against your lawful prince you are a rebel for ever.

Surate was without any defence that could arrest (the attack of) an army. And the courage of its inhabitants certainly did not serve as ramparts. The merchants, who abounded in the place, had little experience of war and intent on the preservation of their private merchandise only could but feebly contribute to the smooth conduct of public affairs [71] that sometimes demanded the sacrifice of private interest. Besides many Indians in Surate had, owing to their ideas of morality which approached that of Pythagorus, so great a horror for bloodshed that they would not kill the meanest animal, far less massacre men, a very good sentiment if everybody shared it. It was in the following manner that Seva-gy conducted his enterprise.

He travelled only during night in order to conceal his movement and avoid heat. During daytime he retired to places hidden by the woods that sheltered him from the heat of the sun. There his soldiers reposed at ease and the horses refreshed themselves in the rivers, the banks whereof supplied them with abundant [72] forage and it entailed the soldiers no trouble or risk.

He was master of the country and soon appeared at the gates of Surate, and the only thought of the citizens now was how to guard against plunder. But the misfortune of the city was imminent. Being half a day's march from the town, Seva-gy had already made preparations, not for an attack on the bastions but for a signal of plunder. In assigning quarters he had made an exception (in favour) of the residences of the English, the Dutch and the Capuchin Fathers. The latter were exempted on account of the general regard for them as good religieux, and in order that he might not have the appearance of scorning popular respect for their persons. The rest (were excepted) because he knew that they were provided with fine cannons [73] and that there might be veteran soldiers in those houses. Besides, (he thought) it would be very easy (hereafter) to be allied with the Europeans trading in India of which, he foresaw there might be need one day.[2] The French had as yet no establishment at Surate.

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[2] This is fairly corroborated by the Dutch account of the first sack of Surat. Shivaji had indeed sent a Greek named Nicholas Colosta to demand money of the Director of the Dutch company without specifying any sum but the latter answered "that there

Everything being thus arranged Seva-gy advanced as far as the gardens on the environs of the city. The Governor had been informed hereof; but he had so little suspicion of any one coming to attack him that Seva-gy managed to enter the place without any difficulty, for his soldiers did not outwardly look what they really were, as they were leading with them some beasts of burden with their arms hidden. Each of them knew where he should repair but they followed no orders in their march [74]. People mistook them, as Cakestkam had done, for the retinue of some powerful Indian whose equipages were constantly seen moving in Surate, presenting among other things, the appearance of a whole army.

The soldiers had time to take their posts in (different) places of the city and on the big roads without being questioned by any inhabitant or stranger as to what they were doing and by whose authority. Seva-gy coolly gave his orders even as he liked, as if it were in a town that had already recognised his authority and none came forward to oppose him. Meanwhile the tumult quickly spread on all sides. The signal was given and the soldiers commenced the pillage. All on a sudden they [75] fell upon whomsoever they found at hand irrespective of age or sex. They killed some of them while the rest fled away, carrying what they could and leaving to the avarice of the troops what they could not. Then they entered the houses, plundered them and placed their spoils on their horses and in the carts (chariots) they had brought for that purpose. There was no form of cruelty that they did not practise upon women and old people who had been detained in their lodgings through

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was very little money at the factory but that if a present of some spice would please Sivagy he was willing to give him same. The Director further charged the Greek to remind Sivagy that at Vingurla he had never troubled the company but rather shown him friendly by giving them free escorts and therefore he quite hoped Sivagy would protect the company's servants in Surat against the evil minded." It seems that no serious effort was made to molest the Dutch though they suspected that the houses in their neighbourhood had been set to fire with evil intention. Dutch Records, India Office Transcripts (English Translation), Vol. 27, DCCXIX.

weakness or age. They wanted thereby to make them disclose where the rest of their treasures was concealed. The two governors could not but be pensive in their dispair, their only care being how to hide themselves [76] and the more valuable things they possessed. They were swayed by their interest and avarice which made them override the dictates of duty. At last the governor of the castle opened artillery fire upon the town. He shot at random and if it was to a certain extent fraught with danger in regard to Seva-gy's soldiers, it rendered the destruction of the people of Surate most certain. The cannon demolished their houses and set them ablaze at the same time that the enemy despoiled them of their furniture and emptied their stores.

Seva-gy was on horseback, with a small number of officers watching the carts and laden horses to march to the place of rendezvous. The sack lasted for three days and three nights.[3] Seva-gy then left Surate [77] as easily as he had entered it having found in one single city all the wealth of the East and securing such war funds as would not fail him for a long time. There remained only the preparations. His followers were obedient and Seva-gy soon made the East see in a rebel subject a conqueror worthy among other things of being compared to the greatest men. Hitherto he had himself commanded his army without the assistance of any one, but as he wanted to augment (his forces) greatly he appointed besides himself four Lieutenant Generals and gave them large sums of money both for furnishing themselves with what they needed to maintain their rank and for distribution among their companies. He sent men to all sides [78] with money to enlist soldiers. Others he sent to watch the attitude of the Mogol and the king of Visapour. When he had mobilised a big army he did not hasten to attempt the things he had planned. He had among his troops many youngmen, novices still in the profession, whom he had collected from all sides. To accustom them (to their profession) he encamped for nearly three months in bare fields, teaching them how to handle horses and fight and training them carefully in all the exercises of the military art.

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[3] According to the Dutch Records Shivaji entered Surat on Wednesday the 16th January, 1664 and the Dutch Factors learnt on the 20th that Shivaji had left with his plunder.

On the other hand the Mogol was offended by the affront that he supposed to have received from the king of Visapour. He could not make out whether Seva-gy had attacked him [79] of his own accord or by the order of his master. However he entered the kingdom. He captured some places and gained some advantage in a few engagements. The troops of the king were very inferior in number and valour. The king of Golkonda came to the rescue of his ally with a powerful army and repelled the Mogol, who however did not lose his hope of revenge though he found himself constrained to postpone his vengeance.

Seva-gy spent this time in occupying several places of Visapour and at last made the Mogol realise that he had acted on his own initiative in his attempt upon the person of Cakestkam. He entered the maritime towns, almost all of which he found unprovided; the [80] king having withdrawn his troops to wage war against the Mogol ; the gates which could not have held long, were thrown open to him (Seva-gy) at the first report of his name, which was so great that resistance seemed useless, for resistance would do nothing but add to his glory. He selected the maritime places as they were easier to defend and more difficult to attack. Apart from the convenience of the ports and the freedom (they offered) of putting out to the sea, his further reflection was that by occupying the coast and treating well the Europeans who came to India he might make them love him and serve him.

In fact along the stretch of the sea where he was the master, there never passed a ship of Europe to which the Governors did not send [81] refreshments with all the good offices that could hardly be expected by an allied prince. I passed that way in 1668 with two ships of the company and we were treated in a manner which was beyond our expectation. It was an act of his policy, but it was also due to the preference he felt for the people of Europe and above all for our nation, whom he held in esteem for the renown they everywhere enjoy as the most warlike nation in the world.

He captured several other towns, fortified by nature and by the hand of man and he made his way into places that were believed to be inaccessible. The forces of the king of Visapour being divided [82] were less capable of opposing such a conqueror, who had all the qualities of a great general and above all a clearness of resolution and an unusual activity that almost always proves decisive in affairs of war. Hardly had he won a battle or taken a town in one end of the kingdom, than he was at the other extremity causing havoc everywhere and surprising important places. To this quickness of movement, he added like Julius Ceasar, a clemency and bounty that won him the hearts of those his arms had worsted. He made inroads into the territories of the Portuguese who had given him offence; he wrested from them the island of Bardes[4] and after desolating the country [83] caused them great anxiety for Goa. He then retraced his steps, re-entered the country of the Mogol, subjugated a big province and levied large contributions and demonstrated to him (the Mogol) that he was able alone without the help of Golkonda or Decan, to hold his own and further that he was about to cause an affront to the heart of his states. If Seva-gy possessed military qualities to such a high degree he was no less a capable man knowing more than one way of reaching his goal.

He practised upon tradesmen and toiling merchants in such a way that during the different voyages they were obliged to make, they took care of speaking well of him, praising his method of governing and making [84] men's minds yield to it. He contrived it in such a way, all the more sure as it was imperceptible, that they spoke like disinterested persons. Then, on their advice he closely followed his reputation and did not allow the enthusiasm to cool down—an enthusiasm which so much propagandism had roused for him in the hearts of the people. By all these means Seva-gy reached such a degree of power that the Grand Mogol apprehensive of (the loss of) his state prepared himself as best as he could to wage a war against him. Aurengzeb recalled his uncle Cakestkam and loaded him with all the honours worthy of his rank and age, to console him for all that had happened to him and for the death of the young prince, his son. He gave him, [85] along with the government of Bengale and the office of General of the army, the title of Viceroy over all the lands held by Emir Jumla, that famous Persian who had quitted the court of Golkonda where he was held in high esteem, to be in the service of the Mogol who owed much to his prudence and his counsels. It meant an honourable retirement for Cakestkam and an occasion of putting in his place some one who had more vigour and greater firmness and was better fitted to resist the progress of Seva-gy, whose valour, like a rushing torrent, carried every place he fell upon. He selected Jesseingue a powerful lord of his court, who had rendered him excellent services [86] in the affairs he was engaged in at beginning of his reign.

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[4] Lakham Savant and other fugitives used to cause trouble to Shivaji's subjects from their safe retreat in the Portuguese territories and Shivaji sent retaliatory expedition o Bardes in November 1667. See Pissurlencar, *Portugueses e Māratas*, p. 17.

Jesseingue set out with instructions to retake the places Seva-gy had conquered from the Mogol. He had secret instructions among others to spare no pains to win over Seva-gy and to induce him to accept the command of the Mogol armies. Seva-gy marched straight to the front of Jesseingue to offer him battle. Jesseingue refused to fight. He knew how to conduct himself so as not to be forced easily. Jesseingue invested a strong town[5] and when his work was sufficiently advanced he laid siege with great military skill.

The defence of the besieged was so vigorous that the Mogol General despaired of reducing [87] the place and preferred entering into negotiations with Seva-gy to persisting any longer. He offered him on behalf of his master great honours and position if he would enter into his service. Seva-gy lent his ears to these proposals and entered into an agreement that placed him at the head of the Mogol forces and opened so grand a career to his valour.

His valour shone in the war he waged against the king of Visapour and if he had not stained his great deeds by the disgrace attached to his ruining the motherland, he would have deserved unbounded praise. The Mogol wanted to employ Seva-gy in the war he was preparing to wage against the king of Persia. He [88] therefore invited him to come to his court and to render his sojourn there more agreeable he made him a Raja, the highest dignity to which the king could raise those he wished to honour. He also gave his son an office of distinction and placed him much above the young lords of his age.

Seva-gy appeared at the Court of the Mogol with all the pomp and *eclat* befitting his rank and reputation but he went there so well accustomed to honours and with such an air of nobility that he was regarded as a man much above his fortune. There was no kind of good treatment that he did not receive from the Prince. He was not (however) equally well regarded by everybody. Cakestkam was absent [89] from the court, but there were his wife and a large number of followers who came either of their own accord or on purpose. These were the enemies Seva-gy had made the day he attempted to capture Cakestkam ; the jealousy, common to great people, was aroused for him more than others and it irritated those very persons so furiously that they made a very serious intrigue to ruin him.

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[5] Carré undoubtedly refers to the sieze of Purandar by Dilel Khan.

The wife of Cakestkam, an arrogant princess by birth, considered herself bound by honour to pursue the murderer of her son, who had done her husband an egregious offence and had only missed killing him ; a man moreover, who had sacked the wealthiest and the most flourishing city of the Mogol. She was so near the king and had raised against Seva-gy so powerful a party [90] that they resolved to arrest him. The king desired to give this satisfaction to the afflicted friends of his uncle but he offered, according to his word and in view of the need that he had of Seva gy, to open to him the means of escaping shortly after his imprisonment.

These manœuvres of the king hardly succeeded ; he pleased none by wishing to satisfy everybody. Seva-gy only felt the injury done to him and the party of Cakestkam deemed the flight of the prisoner very improper, the facility of which betrayed the king.

Seva-gy returned to his army, saw well that he could depend upon none for rest and conceived the idea of founding a lawful kingdom by force of brigandage. He heartily caressed [91] his officers whom he called his brothers and friends, living with them in familiarity and hoping for every distinction by their care without giving himself any. He conducted himself with great ability, affecting nothing, making others to propose things to which he appeared to be indifferent but which he very fundamentally desired,

When he considered himself in a condition to expect everything from the good will of his men, he gave a splendid feast to his generals and when he had a good cheer, after having been in toasts of wine nominated king by some of his assistants, the army responded with acclamation and cries of joy. He was proclaimed king of all the lands he had conquered. The principal officers and the chiefs of the troops took the oath [92] of fealty. He founded for himself a kingdom at the expense of the kings of Visapour, Decan and the Mogol.

Tired of victory he wanted to secure his conquests by limiting them. The Mogol army was prepared to fight him ; he was short of money ; partly in the different wars he had waged and partly in the court, he had exhausted his treasures. This is what made him resolve to plunder Surate for a second time. He took himself there in a manner different from before.

He therefore opened a transaction with the Governor[6] over a piece of intelligence and when an understanding was reached with him, he haughtily demanded of the city of Surate a sum of ten millions (threatening that) otherwise he would come himself to plunder it. What I have to say about this transaction [93] I have learnt from an officer, who had no doubt about it, for he was in the service of the governor when this treason was plotted. Under this appearance of unreservedness and this very air of brutality; Seva-gy concealed his deceit and believed to have placed the governor in safety from the side of the court. But the traitor was punished for it and lost his life as we shall see anon. I shall not go into the details of this second enterprise; suffice it to say, that having sent word to the inhabitants about the day and hour he would enter into Surate, Seva-gy exactly kept his word. He might have some twelve thousand men with him and it was astonishing how a town sufficiently well fortified and inhabited by more than [94] four hundred thousand men did not make the least resistance ; either terror had damped their spirit or so many people, differing so much in nationality and interests and so little used to arms, embarrassed one another sooner than rendering aid to one another and to the city. Seva-gy wanted to plunder at ease and he came to Surate to take booty and not to fight. He was at peace with the Governor. He sent an officer of his army[7] to the residences of the three nations of Europe he dreaded most, the French, the English and the Dutch and gave them a timely notice to display their standards on the top of their terraces that they may be saved thereby from the fury of the soldiers.

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[6] Francis Martin was at Surat in March 1670. He says that a second attack from Shivaji was apprehended at the time of his visit. The Governor consulted Monsieur Carron about the defence of the city which was open on one side but did nothing to remove this defect and this led Martin to suspect that the Governor had a secret understanding with Shivaji—"le gouverneur nen fit rien neanmoins l'on croioit aussy quil avoit intelligence avec Sivagy." François Martin, *Memoir sur l'establissements des colonies Française des l'Inde Oriental,* fol. 92, ob. (A. N. T*. 1169).

[95] We had been established at Surate only for a year. M. Carron, who was at the head of our merchants showed that even in a very advanced age, for he was seventy years old, he preserved courage and resolution. He thanked Seva-gy and caused thousand obliging things to be told him through the officer who had come to warn him to be on his guard ; but he led him to the environs where the merchants of France had gathered and made him take note of the number of artillery that was quite ready to play and told him clearly that the quarters of the French were considered safe by means other than that of Seva-gy's clemency.[8]

Seva-gy was at the gates of the town and the Governor had climbed to the castle carrying there [96] some counsels befitting a traitor and calculated to bring about the success of his treachery. This was to demolish a wall that covered the march of Seva-gy and this gave Seva-gy great facility for making his troops file up. This was to open the town to Seva-gy and ensure the success of his plan, under the pretext of firing upon him from the top of the fortress. It was intended to arm every one but it was intended too late; the enemy was already in the town. The violence was extreme and no one was spared. Our French people behaved boldly and wore such a confident look that they saved their houses from pillage. They even compelled the soldiers to leave the neighbouring houses where they had been led by fury and avarice. [97] To judge by his bravery M. Carron, even with the coolness of the Dutch passed for a Frenchman.

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[7] The Dutch Resident at Surat also wrote—"A messenger had come from the invader to assure us that no harm would be fall us if we remained quiet." India Office Transcripts, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXIII.

[8] This is contradicted by the Dutch Resident who writes : "The French did not attempt to make any opposition although at that time they numbered 150 whites, had about a dozen cannons of fair calibre, 400 fire balls and a large number of grenades, and they quietly suffered that two of their black servants were shot before their eyes, notwithstanding by valuable present they had obtained from Shivaji's representative the declaration that they should be free from molestation." India Office, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXIII.

The treason of the Governor of Surate having been reported, the Mogol resolved to get rid of him by poison, and in the same way as he had caused Jesseingue, Governor of Decan, perish for the same reason, a means unworthy of a Prince who exercises upon his subjects absolute right of punishment.

The Mogol has always near his person a large number of Faquiers who are called friends of God for making themselves friends of men and who conceal disgraceful sins under the mask of extraordinary piety. These Faquiers are skilful poisoners and their art is so fine that its effect is difficult to detect [98] until it is beyond remedy. They make extensive use of perfumes as things to be least refused and they know how to put in a scented letter or a boquet, or a fruit a poison that kills immediately.

It is the custom that when anybody is highly successful either in civil affairs or in war, the Mogol thanks him by letters and in felicity these letters are received with profound respect and grand ceremonies ; before being opened they are placed upon the head and to be kissed they are carried several times to the mouth. Often the joy is not long. These letters suffused with a subtle poison mingle the tears with the pleasure of receiving them. The Mogol [99] addressed to the Governor of Surate such a letter impressed with a poison in which the most learned Faquier had exhausted all his skill. The Governor had assembled all his friends and the chiefs of the Europeans to receive this honour. He fell stiff dead in kissing the letter according to the custom of the country. Our surgeons who opened his head found without difficulty trace of poison. Judicious men made this reflection that this kind of penalty that befall only the person of the guilty and render the conduct of the Prince dubious lost the two great effects of punishment—*viz.*, example and the precaution that it may not occur.

Such is the history of Seva-gy, who while we were at [100] Surate made himself the subject of discussion throughout the whole of the East and rendered his name terrible to many a king who had experience of his arms or his intrigues which he conducted with equal skill.

SURENDRANATH SEN

EDIEANA

I often think of thee and weep
Edieana,
My path is rugged, dark and steep
Edieana,
I cannot lose my thought in sleep
Where'er I be sad memories leap
Edieana.

Often does my soul rebel
Edieana,
Against the peace it loved so well
Edieana,
My thoughts are like the winds of Hell
Raging in some dismal cell
Edieana.

I tread the darken'd lanes alone
Edieana,
The Autumn winds complain and moan
Edieana,
I care not for their sullen tone
Have I not grief enough my own?
Edieana.

Time goes by on steady wing
Edieana,
And bears off Hope, a weakened thing,
Edieana,
Pain strikes my heart-chords till they ring
They groan perchance, but never sing!
Edieana.

I sipped the wine of life in trust
Edieana,
Nor dreamed that thou would be unjust
Edieana,
Those hours of love defy Time's rust
They stand alone, the rest are dust
Edieana.

My hands are trembling now, and cold,
Edieana,
My arms have yearned for thee to hold
Edieana,
And now like a tale that has been told
My life is ending, fast grown old,
Edieana.

LELAND J. BERRY

Reviews

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1924-25, edited by J. F. Blakiston, officiating Director General of Archæology in India.

This report, edited by Mr. Blakiston with the assistance of Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, contains a detailed account of the work of conservation, exploration and research undertaken or carried out by the officers of the Archæological Department in the year 1924-25. What lends special interest to the volume is the illuminating note on the prehistoric civilization of the Indus (Sindhu-Sauvira=Sophir or Ophir ?), valuable sidelights on which were obtained from the discoveries of Mr. Hargreaves at Nāl in Baluchistan. Mr. Page's note on the Orissan caves and Sir John Marshall's account of the terra cotta votive tanks at Taxila raise the important question of the cultural connection between Egypt and India.

The student of religious history will note with special interest (*a*) the discovery at Harappa of a large cone of dark stone resembling the Siva-linga of modern times, (*b*) the clearing of the north and west faces of the basement of an early Chalukya temple at Badami which revealed a frieze of sculptured panels depicting scenes from the early life of Krishna, (*c*) the discovery of a fine image of the Fish incarnation at Vajrayogini and (*d*) the application of the epithet *Pitāmaha* to the Buddha in a Mathura inscription of the 14th year of Kanishka. Of special interest to the student of political history and geography are the Lakshmanesvara temple inscription (p. 33), the Velvikudi grant (p. 117), the Mattepad plates (p. 117), the Urlam plates (p. 118) and the epigraph engraved on a copper-jar at Elephanta (p. 120).

Mr. Longhurst has an interesting note on the huge rock sculpture at Mahabalipuram known as Arjuna's penance, which seeks to support the view that " the whole scene is a symbolical representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas " (p. 106).

The Report, useful and informing as it is, contains not a few mistakes and misprints : *is* is hoped (p. 1), at *the* Akbar's tomb (p.3) *gaye* 2, magnificient (p. 4), clearnnce (p. 51), Udabhāuḍa (p. 51), prallel (p. 62), Gupta Galleay (p. 124), Matsya Purana (Chapter **169** for 269). The date c. 850 A.D. for " Mahindrapala " deva (p. 86) is a bit too early. The fact that Vinayakapaladeva is mentioned in a Chandella inscription does not prove that he was himself a Chandella. He was almost certainly the Gurjara Pratihara king of the same name, the suzerainty of whose family was acknowledged by the early Chandellas. The earliest known historical king of Assam is not Susthitavarman (p. 94), but Pushyavarman. It is not easy to understand why officers of the Archæological Department prefer the name " Andhra" (pp. 18, 30) to "Sātavāhana" which alone is met with in the inscriptions of the line of Simuka.

HISTORICUS

Memoir of the Life of the Late Nana Farnavis, compiled from Family Records and Extant Works by A. Macdonald, Captain in the 18th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, and now Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1851: Together with an Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nana Farnavis, translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, late Resident at the Court of Satara with an Introduction by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., for the University of Bombay. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927, pp. 184, price Rs. 5.

The book is well printed, nicely got up and well illustrated and we wish we had nothing more to add. But a reviewer has a heavy public responsibility and must not in any way mislead the unwary and uninitiated readers. The present work has been reprinted under the auspices of the Bombay University and the Historian Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta has enthusiastically eulogised the authorities of Bombay University for their sound " business capacity " and publicly proclaimed that no literary fraud could succeed with them. The work has been edited by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, one of the seniormost members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and a well known writer on Indian historical subjects. It has already received the benediction of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, the self-styled " leading monthly of India." An unwary reader may, therefore, accept the Memoir of Nana Farnavis on its face value and treat it as a carefully compiled biographical work of real merit. It is nothing but a a literary fraud perpetrated more than half a century ago and accepted by the sound " business-men " who guide the academic policy of the Bombay University as a genuine scholarly work. Who Captain Macdonald was we do not know. Principal Rawlinson accepts his statement as unimpeachable truth and tells his readers that the author " used in its compilation, original MSS., family records and verbose conversations with the relations and personal attendants of Nana Farnavis......This work, like Grant Duff's great classic, is, therefore, based on material which is partly no longer extant." He might have added that it is as reliable, as trustworthy and as accurate as Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* for Captain Macdonald, it appears, knew his Grant Duff much better than the Bombay Pundits. Except the first few pages where he gives a brief account of the early life of his hero based on a fragmentary autobiography, the entire work has been copied from Grant Duff, word by word, line by line and page by page. He had necessarily to omit much and had therefore to add an occasional sentence here and there to serve as a connecting link between the fragments he had selected and copied from Grant Duff. If Principal Rawlinson had even glanced at some of the letters published in the appendix (but omitted in the reprint) of the original edition he would have at once discovered that Captain Macdonald was hardly competent for any serious historical enquiry for he quotes two letters supposed to have been addressed by Nana to his father in 1761 after the third battle of Panipat and on the 8th June 1804. Principal Rawlinson claims to have modernised the spelling of proper names and corrected several obvious misprints. But we are sorry to find that his implicit faith in Captain Macdonald led him to overlook obvious mistakes, which might have been detected by a reference to Grant Duff. The name of Raghoba's adopted son Amrit Rao frequently occurs in this work but unfortunately Captain Macdonald or his printer converted the name in several places to Annunt Rao, while they reproduced Grant Duff's spelling in other places. It is a pity that Principal Rawlinson could not detect this discrepancy, but on p. 40 he modernised the spelling of this proper name as Anant Rao although the individual is correctly described as Raghoba's adopted son. Similarly, on p. 56 the Maratha Admiral is called Anantrao Dhulap probably because his name is spelt as Annunt Rao Dhuleep by Macdonald although the correct name is Ananda Rao. Similar mistakes have been committed in connection with fairly well known Europeans of that time. Thus on p. 31 Mr. Bolts is called Botts and W. H. Tone (p. 127) is called W. R. Jones. It should be noted that these mistakes are found in the original edition. Subah Bakshi (p. 97 footnote) is evidently Jivba Bakshi, the commander of Sindhia's army. Are we, therefore, to infer that the revision of the text was not made by Principal Rawlinson? Some of the footnotes of the original edition have been omitted and while Macdonald never fails to mention the sources of his notes it is seldom done in the reprint. The reprint, therefore, cannot be recommended even as a trustworthy selection from Grant Duff. The Bombay University and Principal Rawlinson earned the thanks of all students of Maratha History by bringing out a critical edition of Kasi Raj Pandit's account of the third battle of Panipat, and they will render an important service to the cause of Maratha History if they bring out a reprint of such valuable rare works as Tone's *Illustrations of Some Institutions of the Marhatha People* and L. F. Smith's, *A Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of India,* and if they can spare funds for more voluminous works, those of Thorn, Blacker and Prinsep. A really well annotated edition of Grant Duff is long overdue.

MARATHA

The Mahatma Letters to A. P. Sinett from the Mahatmas M. and K. H., transcribed, compiled and with an Introduction by A. T. Barker, Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $7.50.

No two more interesting characters were brought before the public in the past generation than the Masters M. and K.H., known in India and elsewhere as Mahatmas. Are they persons who have actually lived, are living, or are they fictitious? Gandhi to-day is spoken of generally as Mahatma Gandhi. No unusual cause of wonder is attached to the title. Gandhi is a man in the flesh and he has earned the title Mahatma, the appellation of mastership, by conquering his bodily wants. But the Mahatmas M. and K.H. are said to be more than physical beings. They have so far conquered physical desire that many of the laws of nature are no longer hidden to them, but are known to and understood by them. This is said to be the case, so much so, that acts to be brought about by others only as miracles, are to them the accomplishment of ordinary feats.

The discussion regarding the identity of these two, and the "school" to which they belong has been going on, now furiously, now abatedly, for a number of years. It has taken place so heatedly and a denial of their actual existence has been so often heard that even the Society founded as a result of their teachings has been threatened with being rent in twain. The doubters have claimed that the Masters M. and K. H are but the figments of an imaginative woman's brain. It has been said that Helena Petrova Blavatsky, first writer to bring the Masters to the attention of people interested in psychism, made them up from whole cloth and that the letters supposedly transmitted to her from these two teachers in the

Himalayas were written by her. Theosophist and wanderer, storm-centre of spiritualistic phenomena, discussed and often misunderstood, she continued to put forth the claims that the letters were genuine and that the Mahatmas K.H. and M.. were real.

The letters were not written to Madame Blavatsky exclusively. Although she remained to the end almost the only one who could receive them and in turn pass them on to the one intended to be the recipient, many of them passed through her to others and those that passed to Mr. Sinnett, often in answer to questions he directed to the Masters through Madame Blavatsky are those included in the present volume. The story of this transmission reads like a fairy-tale. How delightful it would be if there could be on earth, persons who had sufficiently mastered material laws that they could control physical manifestations at will! Self-denial and the attempt to reach the stage of conquest of one's self would not then seem to be in vain.

The battle between material objects and the desire of spiritual life has long been carried on. There are many in the world to-day, who, even as Tolstoi, are not only willing, but eager to leave the haunts of men to seek refuge in the forest knowing that so long as man is surrounded by turmoil of economic life he must in some way be distracted by it. Is it possible that Tolstoi was but a soul who could no longer endure the contact with earthly men and possessions and that his retirement was the first step in that lonely search for truth that eventually leads Buddhaward, yes, even Christward, though perhaps in a different sense?

Then in death, not a candle of life snuffed out, because his physical body has been left behind, but an entity who has for the first time mastered the secret of the greatness of the inner ego, and standing on the threshold of that initiation which is the goal of the occultists.

The Masters M. and K. H. were but Tolstois progressed to an unknown degree, serving one whom they mention repeatedly as the Chohan, rapidly approaching the end where incarnation upon the earth was no longer a necessity.

Many of the passages of *The Mahatma Letters*, deny the existence of God, particularly God who is but the elevated picture of man himself. The teachings are Buddhistic, placing Nature's law in supreme position ; the universe a whole whose manifestation is coupled with the laws of Karma and rebirth. Even gods are but part of the chains of Karma. The study of occult philosophy is a deep subject. It is deep and fascinating and the more one plunges into it the more is he interested. *The Mahatma Letters* are teachings, replete with references to people and events concerned chiefly in this respect with those who founded the Society. To a person outside the Society, this extraneous matter in the letters would not be attractive. But above and dominating this is a teaching so profound, a spiritual problem reflected in so many interesting lights that what might appear to be gossip falls by the wayside. The personal references may be omitted. The reference to the question of the existence of the Masters may be disregarded. There will still be meat enough for ample philosophic discussion. One reading or a dozen will not suffice.

A discussion of Esoteric Buddhism would involve endless time. In a book *Esoteric Buddhism*, Mr. Sinnett has endeavoured to include and interpret the teachings he gleaned from the Mahatmas. A doctrine of religion is not complete until it embraces all the facts concerning life and wisdom. No doctrine is ever remotely complete until it has investigated the theories of Karma influencing so thoroughly the life of the East yet so totally disregarded by the West.

If these are the truths of nature, and so the occultists believe, they ought to be cognized and brought into relationship with human contact. If they are not truths, true but false, then they ought to be refuted. But neither affirmation nor refutation may be made fairly without investigation. It will be said of course that the altruistic proof lies after death, but an investigation could be made which would be as sound as many other theories of life.

Certainly to the writer, a belief in those doctrines has given to life a much wider scope.

The Mahatma Letters, whatever else they may do, make the possibility of immortality much more real and endow it with an actuality to which one is related.

Not only now but in the hereafter as well, an expanded vision is not to be despised.

This, in an almost inexhaustible measure, is the gift of the *Mahatma Letters*.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

Ourselves

THE LATE DR. PASUPATINATH SASTRI.

The University has sustained a severe loss in the sudden and premature death of Dr. Pasupatinath Sastri which took place on the 5th February last. After an exceptionally brilliant academic career, Dr. Pasupatinath chose the field of education for his activities and he joined the University as a Post-Graduate lecturer. His unassuming character, vast erudition and profound love for Sanskrit lore and learning, his knowledge of German, French, Greek and Dutch languages enabled him soon to take up an enviable position on the staff of the University and scholars from all parts of India approached him on many a puzzled question on Hindu Sastra and Philosophy. Dr. Pasupatinath welcomed the enquiries with alacrity and he took real delight in these abstruse discussions. He avoided limelight and thus the public had very few opportunities of coming in personal contact with him but to his students and colleagues he appeared like one of those traditional ancient *pandits*—simple, truthful and full of humility. Although pursuing the humble vocation of a teacher, his life and character served to soothe and fortify those who required strength and solace.

The revival of the orthodox learning was very near his heart and he worked heart and soul for the growth, development and popularisation of Sanskrit. The *Sanskrit Sahitya Parisat* bears testimony to his constructive genius and organising capacity. He was the life and soul of the institution and the *Parisat* owes its present influential position to his energies and indefatigable labours in its service.

In spite of his multifarious activities, Dr. Pasupatinath has left behind a number of scholarly works amongst which the following deserve special mention:—Selections from Sāyana's Commentary, Introduction to Pūrba Mīmāṁsā and German and French Readers.

At the time of his death he was engaged upon a critical edition of Raghunandana's *Smriti.*

He was only forty-three when he died and a life full of promise has thus been prematurely cut short and Sanskrit scholarship is all the poorer by his demise. His life might be summed up as

> "Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull
> Strong, without rage, without overflowing, full."

* * *

PROFESSOR PAUL BRÜHL.

Professor Paul Brühl, whose association with this country dates back to the year 1882 when he took up a Professorship at the Rajshahi College, never spared himself and certainly did not spare his pupils. We are sure the appeal made in the following manifesto, which we gladly publish, will have a hearty response from the friends, pupils and admirers of Dr. Brühl.

Dr. P. Brühl, University Professor of Botany in the Calcutta University, is retiring very soon. He has spent about forty-five years of his life in Bengal and during this period thousands of students have received their education from him in various branches of science. He started his career as a Professor in the Rajshahi College and after a long term of service as Professor in the Bengal Engineering College retired from Government service as its Officiating Principal. After his retirement he was appointed Registrar, University of Calcutta, in succession to Dr. Thibaut and continued in that post until he was appointed to the newly created post of University Professor of Botany in September, 1918. This post he has been holding up to now. He will be retiring at the end of the present University session. Apart from mere teaching Dr. Brühl has always been engaged in original research the results of which have been published in various periodicals from time to time.

At a meeting of the past and present colleagues and students of Dr. Brühl held on the 3rd December, 1927, in the Botanical Laboratory of the University College of Science, a committee was appointed to consider the steps to be taken to commemorate the long and meritorious services of Dr. Brühl to the cause of education and science in Bengal and to collect funds for the purpose.

The committee propose that the commemoration should take the form of :—

(a) founding a gold medal in his honour ;
(b) hanging a portrait of his in the Botany Laboratory ;
(c) giving a farewell party, presentation of an illuminated address and a suitable souvenir to him.

The committee consider that a sum of Rs. 2,500 will be ~~needed~~ for carrying out the objects in view. Looking to the large number of students who have received their education from Dr. Brühl, the committee hope that the required amount, and even more, will be readily forthcoming.

It is proposed to hold the farewell meeting at which the presentation will be made in the beginning of March, 1928. Contributors are, therefore, requested to send in their contributions as early as possible so as to enable the committee to settle the definite form the commemoration is to take. Contributions should be sent to the undersigned for which a formal receipt will be issued.

BOTANICAL LABORATORY,
35, Ballygunj Circular Road.

S. P. AGHARKAR,
President,
Brühl Farewell Committee.

* * *

MAHENDRANATH PRIZE.

Professor Satischandra Ray, M.A., addressed the following letter to the Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts.

DEAR SIR,

The Mahendranath Prize was founded about seven years ago ; but it is a matter of regret and disappointment that no award has yet been made owing to lack of response on the part of our graduates qualified to compete for it. I, therefore, propose for the consideration and approval of the Board of Higher Studies in Economics, a temporary modification of the original terms of award, for six years. The original terms will *ipso facto* come into force after this period, when, it is expected, writers of the required standard will be forthcoming.

The accumulated interest on the endowed funds amounts to Rs. 1,445. After six years this will rise to Rs. 5,000. I propose that our lecturers be invited to write monographs on any five of the following subjects on an honorarium of Rs. 1,000 each. This honorarium may be increased, if funds permit, in the case of subjects of special interest and difficulty. The subjects, I propose, are :—

1. The Indian Tax System or the Incidence of Taxation in India.
2. Indian Railway Administration and Economics.
3. Economic Imperialism in India.
4. History of Indian Commerce.
5. Local and Central Finance.
6. A Scheme of Village Reform.
7. National Wealth of India : with a special treatment of the economic condition of the people of Bengal as affected by internal and external causes.
8. The Theory of Hoarded Wealth.
9. Indian Nationalism—with special reference to communal differences.

An invitation may be made to not more than one Teacher of the Dacca University if the Board considers that he is specially fitted to write on one of these topics.

Yours truly,
SATISCHANDRA RAY."

It is needless to state that the proposal has been accepted and that the Members of the Board have been invited to write on one of the topics as suggested by the donor.

* * *

A MUNIFICENT DONATION.

We are glad to announce that the widow of the late Mr. Radhikamohan Ray has expressed her desire to make over to the Calcutta University 3½ p. c. Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000 for founding a scholarship to be named *Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship.*

* * *

UNIVERSITY READERS.

Professor Arnold Sommerfeld, Foreign Member of the Royal Society of London and Professor of Theoretical Physics in the University of Münich, has been appointed a University Reader to deliver a course of lectures on *Atomic Structure.*

Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D., of the University of Lucknow, has also been appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of six lectures on *Land Problems.*

* * *

DEANS OF DIFFERENT FACULTIES.

The following gentlemen have been elected Deans of the different Faculties :—

Arts—Professor Jnanranjan Banerjea, M.A., B.L.
Science—Sir Praphullachandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S.
Law—Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, *Suriratna, Vidyaratnakar,* Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., LL.D., M.L.C.
Medicine—Principal Kedarnath Das, C.I.E., M.D.
Engineering—Principal T. H. Richardson, M.A., B.A.I., M.I.C.E., M.I.E.

* * *

DATES OF DIFFERENT EXAMINATIONS.

B. Com.—

The next B. Com. Examination will commence on Tuesday, the 1st May, 1928.

Medical—

The next Preliminary Scientific M.B. and Final M.B. Examinations will commence on Tuesday, the 24th April, 1928.

D.P.H.—

The following dates have been fixed for the D.P.H. Examination, Parts I and II for 1928 :—

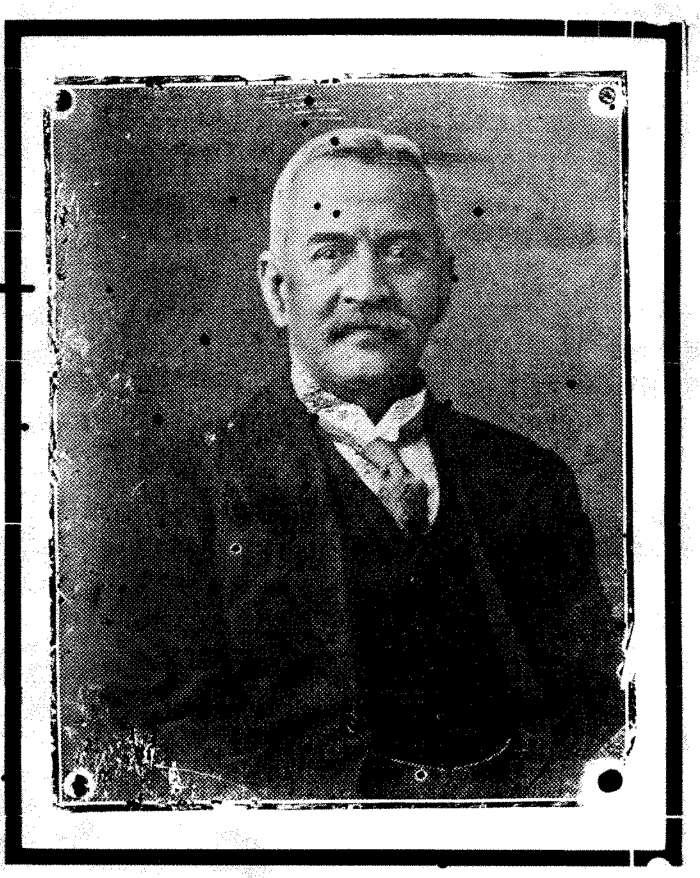
Part I—Tuesday, the 1st May and again on Monday, the 30th July, 1928.

Part II—Monday, the 23rd April and again on Monday the 13th August, 1928.

* * *

THE KEDARNATH BANERJEE MEDAL.

The Kedarnath Banerjee Gold Medal has been awarded to Mr. Rameschandra Pal, M.A., M.L.



THE RT. HON'BLE SIR SATYENDRAPRASANNA

Baron Sinha of Raipur

By courtesy of Forward]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1928

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION

I.—His Excellency the Chancellor's Address[1]

Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege to address you to-day for the first time as Chancellor of this University. I find myself occupying this position as Governor of this Presidency, and it will be my duty and desire to use my best endeavours as Chancellor, to assure the efficiency and progress of this University. Education, in all its branches in Bengal, is a matter which demands the anxious and constant consideration of any one occupying the position of Governor.

It is many years since I was in close and intimate touch with University life, and I can say without hesitation that the idea that one day I might be faced with the responsibilities of Chancellor of a University, let alone two, was not one of my youthful fancies. My four years spent as an under-graduate and graduate at Cambridge, and later as a Member of the Court of a Provincial University, enabled me to gain some experience of what a University could, and should, do for those whom it far-reaching, are overdue, and I shall watch with sympathy and interest your efforts to modernize your constitution in conformity with present-day requirements.

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[1] Delivered by His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Francis Stanley Jackson, P.C., K.C.I.E., Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 11th February, 1928.

I know well that University life in India differs in many respects from that in an English University. In Bengal, a University has far wider and more difficult functions to discharge than a University in England. A large number of the men who go to the Universities in England have had the advantage of the experience of the corporate life of a big school, whereas in Bengal so far the conditions of school organization are less advanced. In England, in the schools, in work and in play, the boys are trained under strict discipline, which is a sure foundation upon which the formation of character can be based. In Bengal, the Universities have imposed upon them the difficult task of doing or of attempting to do for the students what the schools have often neglected to do.

The value of a University course must depend to a large extent upon the use the individual makes of it. It relies for its good name and standing upon the way in which the students respond, not only to the rules and regulations and customs, which must be established in any University worth the name, but also to a sense of responsibility for, and a pride in, the well-being and dignity of the University, to which they should consider it an honour to belong.

The Calcutta University can claim to be the oldest and largest in India. It stands in the midst of the first city in India. The aims of all those who have the interests of this University at heart should be to strive to make it worthy of the pre-eminent position it should hold. The capacity of the students of Bengal, if trained from the start upon a sound foundation, is such as should enable them to attain to the highest distinction. The honours degree here should be such as will bring real joy and pride to the successful, and be comparable to the standard of any other University. I am glad to know that most of you are determined by steadily raising real from the apparent. If you have done this you may, indeed, be hopeful not only of a successful career in any walk of life you adopt, but of being able to render useful service to your country.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a matter of regret for me that my first visit as Chancellor of this University could not be made under happier conditions. I am informed that amongst those who took an active part in the disturbances which occurred within the neighbourhood of the University last week, when an attempt was made to interfere with, and offer resistance to law and order, were students of this University. It is not the function of the University to question the rights of individual political opinion, but the unseemly conduct of members of the University, acting no doubt under the incitement of outside influence, is calculated to shake the confidence of the supporters and well-wishers of the University's progress. It is obvious that an institution which includes amongst its members some so devoid of a sense of order and discipline cannot be regarded otherwise than with anxiety and misgiving. As Chancellor it should be my duty and pleasure to assist as best as I can your just requests for support from Government. This I am prepared to do, but I am alarmed lest Government may feel it their duty to consider seriously whether the measure of support which is at present given, might not, in the general interests of education, be diverted into other channels from which experience has shown they may expect better results. The University should support the College authorities in any action they may think necessary to take, to enable them to restore a spirit of orderly study and to prevent a recurrence of such incidents, which bring nothing but disgrace and disaster to all concerned.

I feel there is no one who has been more disappointed and hurt by recent events than the Vice-Chancellor. I know how he has laboured with selfless devotion upon the task of administering this University which should stand out as one of Bengal's most treasured and valued possessions. During his term of office he has shown sound vision and a masterly grasp of the

Post-Graduate Arts Department
Calcutta University
LENDING LIBRARY

II.—THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS [1]

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

On behalf of this University I beg to offer a cordial welcome to Your Excellency on the occasion of your presiding for the first time over the Convocation as our Chancellor. We feel confident that Your Excellency's known devotion to the true interests of our young men and sympathy with educational ideals will be of great assistance to us in overcoming the financial difficulties and extraneous disturbances with which we are unhappily faced.

The year that has just expired has been, on the whole, uneventful for the University. We mourn the departure from our midst of our former Chancellor Lord Lytton, who kept an intimate touch with this University throughout his tenure of office. This Senate is the poorer by reason of the death of three eminent Fellows who had adorned it for several decades and rendered high service to education, I mean Sir Kailas Chandra Bose, Dr. Henry Stephen and Prof. Adhar Chandra Mukherji. A few other gentlemen have ceased to be Fellows by reason of resignation or the expiry of their terms, but they are happily in the land of the living.

II

All the teaching work in the province up to the degrees for graduation, is conducted by the Colleges, and not by the University directly. These Colleges are of three kinds, namely, those maintained by the State, by Missionary Societies and by private bodies. In Calcutta alone besides the seven Government Colleges, five Mission Colleges, and one aided Medical College, schemes first of placing the University lecturers on a graded scale of pay, so as to induce them to remain here instead of improving their prospects by going elsewhere, and secondly of building residences for them close to the University in order to develop the corporate life of the University and bring the teachers and students into constant daily contact. With frequent changes in the staff and with teachers who can be met only during the prescribed periods of lectures or tutorials, it is impossible for any University to do its work properly and for even the most gifted and devoted teacher to give his best to his pupils, for under these adverse conditions it is physically impossible for a teacher to inspire his students or mould their character. Calcutta cannot aspire to be an Oxford, by merely engaging highly qualified lecturers, if the social facilities of Oxford are absent here. With our University teachers freed from anxiety about their future, and enabled to live close to their boys in what the last Royal Commission on the London University recommended as "a University quarter," there would be a great improvement in the research done by our teachers and advanced students and a great elevation of the academic standard, in return for our present expenditure. In this respect helping the teachers would really be helping the community.

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[1] Delivered by Jadunath Sarkar, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 11th February, 1928.

IV

This is the one day in the year when we cannot help thinking of our duty and our destiny as a corporate body. It is true that every educational institution must justify its existence by trying to raise the general level of knowledge among the people. That is a duty which a University shares in common with the humblest school, though in a different degree. But what is the special service that the country expects from the University? What new element should a true University contribute to national life?

to attain this end in a greater degree than any other institution in the country.

The broad portals of Halls like this have been thrown open to all who have the requisite talent. Here they have competed with rivals drawn from all ranks of society and sometimes from all countries of the world, and the result has been that each man's capacity has been developed to the utmost, his genius has asserted itself, and he has gained due recognition in the wide wide world. And the nation as a whole has benefited by this timely discovery and cultivation of inherent capacity.

But the intellectual aristocracy whom the University discovers, trains, and sends forth into the world, must not forget that nobility has its obligations and that the best products of the University owe a service to the institution which has helped to make them what they are and to the community which they are destined to lead.

VI

The one law of life of every civilisation is progress, the ceaseless striving after improvement, the sense of kinship with

> "Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new :
> That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do."

It is not enough for a talented youth to use the University in developing his own innate powers to the utmost ; he, as a natural leader of thought, owes it to the University and to the country to contribute his own share to the progress of mankind. Our intellectual aristocrats,—if I may use the expression without offence,—whether they are acting as original contributors or as critics of others' performances, must not be satisfied with the commonplace or the conventional, they must ever insist on the highest quality ; for they alone can judge best, they alone can make the most authoritative award of merit. On them lies a heavy responsibility, if they lower our standard of attainable perfection and suffer the nation's cultural level to fall.

This insistence on only the best performance possible, this demand for greater and still greater endeavour,—is an unpleasant duty, it is an unpopular duty, but it is a supreme duty, which no man can neglect without imperilling the future of his nation. Facile praise of commonplace or unworthy performances in the realm of learning may seem an easy, pleasant and polite thing. But it poisons the national intellect at its source, and it is a benefit of doubtful value to the man to whom it is so thoughtlessly given. It permanently enfeebles him. For, no man knows what he is capable of achieving so long as he does not rouse himself for a heroic effort. It is only in answering the call of a noble but difficult task that our hidden capacity shows itself, as a young man's muscles are developed only by exercise and the strain of harder and harder tasks. The best service that one can do to our student community is to incite them to greater and greater achievement, to qualify themselves for competing with other races on equal terms in the open games of the wide world, and not to cry for a narrow reserved local field of trial and a purely parochial standard of performance.

VII

If we are to rise to the lofty destiny that ought to be ours, if the Indians of the highest capacity are to take their places as peers among the world's intellectual leaders, then the linking together of our scholarly efforts is necessary. We must not forget that Nature creates nothing by one leap, but that the advance of civilisation and thought has been made step by step,—by the steady and regular process of evolution and not by the mythological device of a sudden and complete creation. In this advance of human thought, in this growth of civilisation, mind has co-operated with mind, country with country, one age with another.

This can be done only if we sink our narrow sense of national or sectarian individuality, our spirit of isolation, and fall into line with the world's workers in the higher branches of thought and research by agreeing on the first principles and the uniformity of scientific method. The learned world has been so completely standardised and so well trained in mutual aid, that boards of scholars are now carrying to perfect success works which were in former ages attempted by individuals and which even the most gifted and heroic individual failed to fully complete. Let us contrast Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* with the *Cambridge Medieval History* written by a syndicate of scholars of different countries. Gibbon's book is a monument of a single individual's genius and erudition; it is an undying masterpiece of literature; but as a full and authentic history it cannot stand by the side of the Cambridge synthesis of many scholars' work. The contrast between the *English Dictionary* of that literary Hercules, Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the *Oxford New English Dictionary* is an equally strong illustration of my point.

So, too, in the realm of natural science, every minute section of every subject has advanced by the co-operation of mind with mind, and in each successive age many workers have contributed their respective quotas of discovery to enrich the common stock of human knowledge.

VIII

Therefore, if we wish for the advancement of learning, if we desire our University to be a living fountain of knowledge and not a herbarium of dead, imported plants, then we must make arrangements for linking together the efforts of our own workers among themselves and also for bringing our scholars' labours into contact and co-ordination with the efforts now being made by seekers after truth in other parts of the world.

The teachers of a true University naturally form a brotherhood of workers among themselves, frequently meeting together and exchanging ideas. The social side of Universities is very much neglected in India, but it is as important an instrument for the advancement of learning as solitary work in the library or the laboratory. For want of this social life in our University we have not been able to derive full benefit from the visits of foreign scholars in our midst as our invited Readers and Lecturers. They have delivered the requisite number of public addresses, no doubt, but have had no opportunity of talking with our teachers and advanced students on their special lines of study and bringing them abreast of the latest developments in these subjects in Europe.

IX

If our University does its work fully and well, then not only the leaders of our country's thought, but every true son of the *alma mater* is expected to show a distinctive mental discipline. He must display the captain's coolness of head and wide range of vision. He must not be swept away by the popular cries of the hour; he must not let the clear light of his reason be obscured by the appeals to his passions; he must never ignore realities, but must always keep his gaze fixed upon the things that count, the things that will endure.

A University has failed in its duty if it has not imparted to its graduates this intellectual discipline, this catholicity of sympathies, this power of self-control in the midst of all kinds of distraction, this universality of outlook, and thus taught them to rise superior to national prejudices, racial pride, sectarian animosity and personal interest.

The true son of a University feels it his duty to take his stand in the ranks of the defenders of reason and liberty, of law and progress, of justice and reform,—against the forces of bigotry and selfishness, the tyranny of power or of the populace, the vulgar appeals to passion and unreason. He is ever ready to guard liberty of opinion and worship in the individual in defiance alike of the frowns of rulers and the threats of the mob, because he is convinced that civilisation will collapse, discovery and creation will cease, and democracy will become a mockery if force takes the place of reason. He is a worshipper of truth and freedom and feels that without the union of these two the roots of social happiness and human progress would be destroyed.

The following incident taken from Bryce's *American Commonwealth* illustrates how this civic spirit animates the worthy citizens of the great new republic of the West. "When the Orangemen of New York purposed to have a 12th of July procession through the streets, the Irish Catholics threatened to prevent it. The feeling of the native Americans was aroused at once; young men of wealth came back from their mountain and seaside resorts to fill the militia regiments which were called out to guard the procession, and the display of force was so overwhelming that no disturbance followed. These Americans had no sympathy with the childish and mischievous partisanship which leads the Orangemen to perpetuate Old World feuds on New World soil. But processions were legal, and they were resolved that the law should be respected and the spirit of disorder repressed. They would have been equally ready to protect a Roman Catholic procession."

X

The ancient Greeks displayed the same love of ordered liberty in their public life as they sought ordered beauty in their cultivation of the fine arts. This spirit enabled that handful of men living in a small and poor peninsula, to defeat the mighty Persian empire and to bequeath to future ages the most valuable and inspiring gifts in the form of political wisdom, literary masterpieces and art treasures.

Three thousand years ago a poet drew a picture of a battle fought between two races from two different continents on the sandy plain that overlooks the narrow sea dividing Europe from Asia. The Ionian father of song clearly distinguished their different characteristics as explaining their relative strength. He said, "The Trojans marched with clamour and with shouting like unto birds, even as when there goeth up before heaven a clamour of cranes which flee from the coming of winter and sudden rain. But on the other side marched the Achæans in silence breathing courage, eager at heart to give succour man to man."

In this self-control, this silent determination, this habit of holding their strength in reserve till needed, instead of letting it effervesce in passionate speech or disorderly tumult,—lay the secret of that national power, which, when guided by a great military genius of a kindred race, conquered the then civilised world up to the bank of the Satlaj and set the law to three continents.

This self-discipline was also the secret of success of the greatest general of antiquity, whom even the historian of the city of his eternal hatred has been constrained to admire, saying, "Never was there a character more capable of the two tasks, so opposed to each other, of commanding and obeying. He was fearless in exposing himself to danger and perfectly self-possessed in the presence of danger."

This discipline or habituating the will to obey a law higher than our personal caprice,—is the keystone of every system of education. The student, like the young mechanical apprentice, the newly enlisted recruit, the novice in a monastic order, is in a state of training for his chosen work; he is, therefore, not yet fit to undertake that work. And, as he neglects his training at the appeal of outside distractions, at the call to other kinds of work, so will his preparation for his life's work be delayed and rendered less complete; he will in that proportion remain an inefficient workman in his particular line, and therefore incapable of rendering true service to his country.

XI

It is a commonplace truth of economics that the employment of immature lads in factories is not only harmful to their health but also hinders the growth of a class of efficient adult labourers. Similarly, the youth who prematurely leaves his studies or practical training incomplete, in response to the noble instinct of patriotism, is sure to realise in his hours of calm reflection that he is really showing irreverence to our Great Mother by laying before her shrine the cheap and useless offering of an undeveloped body, an immature mind, a hazily learnt art or craft, an undisciplined will. He will realise with regret, after his life's opportunities are gone for ever, that it requires a higher type of patriotism to possess his soul in patience, to resist with unshaken firmness all distractions and temptations during the period of his education, and to thoroughly master his own special subject, so that he may supply the nation with an expert workman and supreme teacher, —which is its greatest need.

If it be true of the individual that

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power,"

it is no less true of that aggregate of individuals which we call a nation. Let every future citizen of India, as he leaves the training ground of his boyhood and youth, select his rule of life. Let him make his choice between the eternal verities on the one hand and the popular delusions and misrepresentations of the hour on the other, between the sway of reason and the insurrection of the passions, between holding his strength in reserve till the proper time for its use and making premature theatrical demonstrations, between self-discipline and moral anarchy.

The University has made your choice easier by placing before you the lessons of history and concentrating in its teaching the garnered wisdom of all ages and all countries. If, then, you make the wrong choice, you will be doing so with your eyes open as to its consequences to you as private persons and to the nation as a community. India expects every one of her sons to do his duty. Let your hearts be uplifted to a true conception of that duty !

W. B. YEATS[1]

I

William Butler Yeats, eldest son of a well-known artist, Mr. J. B. Yeats, R.H.A., was born in June, 1865, at Dublin. He was the grandson of W. B. Yeats, M.A., who was a rector. Through his maternal grandfather who was a merchant the future Irish poet became intimate with the town of Sligo which forms the background of many of his poems, of his solitary novel "John Sherman and Dhoya" (1891), and of the "Celtic Twilight" (1893).

At the age of nine Yeats was sent for education to London, where his parents then resided but at fifteen he returned to Dublin.

I do not propose in my short paper to dwell on biographical details beyond what is absolutely necessary for throwing light on Yeats's poetry which is the subject of my lecture to-day. For fuller details I may refer you to his "Autobiographies: Reveries over Childhood and Youth and the Trembling of the Veil," which is an illuminating artist's confession as well as a record of his associates in the 90's of the last century and of Irish politics and Ireland's political struggle for freedom. In the 8-volume collected works of Yeats it forms the 6th.

Yeats next became an art student and also produced a lot of juvenile poems of a somewhat imitative character, written in his teens, some of which appeared in the *Dublin University Review*. Most of these were indifferent translations from the Irish.

The formative period of his life coincides with the era of a great intellectual, social and political[2] ferment in Ireland.

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[1] This paper was read in September, 1927, at a meeting of the Poetry Society of Calcutta.

[2] *Cf.* Notes (pages 360-61) to "Later Poems" and "The Rose Tree" and "Sixteen Dead Men" "Unicorn from the Stars" *re* Thomas's fears about his nephew Martin Hearne and Parnell's "Life."

This ancient land of glorious traditions like our own country was then in the throes of a mighty change and the choice spirits of the age in all spheres of life were eagerly groping for new light.

Yeats connected himself as an aspiring young spirit, full of revolt against the existing order, with the group whose chief ambitious dream was the regeneration of their beloved country and nation by the creation of a new literature as a national driving force. Here lay the seed of the new Celtic Movement in Ireland which resulted in the establishment of the National Drama. We learn from Yeats that those were days of widened vision, inspiring enthusiasms, revolutionary ideas, passion for social reforms, and of the foundation, in all important centres, of innumerable societies for the diffusion of new ideas and the spread of culture. The air was tense with the Fenian leader O'Leary's[1] new nationalism. Yeats specially worked[2] for the rebirth of a romantic, ideal Ireland and by 1890, he says, "A true literary consciousness—national to the centre—seems gradually to be forming out of all this disgusting and pretty-fying, this penumbra of half-culture. We are preparing for a new Irish literary movement."

Yeats's sympathies had a wide range. He was attracted by Theosophy and actually, we are told, a young Brahmin was invited from London to teach the ancient mysteries of Indian Philosophy and he revealed to a select body the wisdom of the East. Yeats was already well versed in the old Druidical[3] lore especially as it was preserved in the traditional songs and tales of the ancient bards of the[4] Western Celts of Ireland from whom he often drew his inspiration. To this became added an intense interest in alchemy, in occultism, in psychical[5] research, esoteric philosophy and lastly Indian spiritual vision and philosophical thought with which his own philosophy of life became so deeply tinged as to colour most of his poetical utterances. It has been rightly said by his critics that "Yeats's poetry always furnished food-stuff for the soul." To this important point I shall soon revert in connection with my observations on the *symbolic* element in his poetry specially conspicuous in the "Countess Cathleen" volume of 1892, in "The Secret Rose" of 1897, "The Wind among the Reeds" (1899) and the symbolic drama of "The Shadowy Waters" (1900).

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[1] *Cf.* "September, 1913."

[2] *Cf.* "Secret Rose," "The Blessed," "The Folly of being Comforted," "The Arrow," "Adam's Curse" and "All Things can tempt Me."

[3] *Cf.* "Fergus and the Druid."

[4] *Cf.* "Village Ghosts," "Helen's Eye."

[5] *Cf.* "Unicorn from the Stars" for Martin's trance, "A Visionary" in "The Celtic Twilight," "The Tables of the Law."

We turn for a moment to another source for valuable materials bearing on his early poetic career. We learn from Katharine Tynan that at the age of twenty Yeats was all[1] dreams and all gentleness. This forcibly reminds us of his affinity with the ever-youthful Shelley. Like Shelley he too was now often found "Chanting poetry to himself in the silent watches of the night" self-absorbed and his dream[2] was all about his beloved and unhappy Ireland—particularly pastoral Ireland.[2] The deep impression imprinted on his youthful heart by the vanished[3] charms of idyllic Ireland, then undergoing a rapid change except in the far-away secluded countryside, is beautifully recorded for us in the prose piece in his "Celtic Twilight" (1893) called "By the Roadside." He refers there to his personal experience of an evening when he went to a place on the Kiltartan road to listen to some simple, touching, sweet old Irish songs—"mournful songs of separation, of death, and of exile or the glad songs of meeting." "The voices melted," he says, "into the twilight and were mixed into the trees and when I thought of the words they too melted away and were mixed with the generations of men." In "Hanrahan and Cathleen" (in his Stories of Red Hanrahan first published in 1897, but revised in 1907) we are told that this school-master and song-maker, the red-haired man, made a good many songs, chiefly love songs and some songs of repentance, but most of them were about Ireland and the heavy weight of her tormenting griefs. Among others, he sang the following moving words and "the sound of his voice was like the wind in a lonely place"—

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[1] *Cf.* The character of Martin Hearne and of his father Andrew in "Unicorn from the Stars" (1907), "Fergus and the Druid."

[2] *Cf.* "Helen's Eye" of "The Celtic Twilight, and "All Things can tempt Me," "Easter, 1916."

[3] *Cf.* "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time," and "The Fisherman" (the 2nd poem with that title in "The Wild Swans at Coole," 1919) as also that in the "Crossways" (1889).

> "Our courage breaks like an old tree in a black wind and dies
>
> But we have hidden in our hearts the flame out of the eyes
>
> Of Cathleen, the daughter of Hoolihan."
>
> And Cathleen we know is [1] Ireland.

The last stanza of the poem runs thus—

> "The yellow pool has overflowed high up on Clooth-na-Bare,
> For the wet winds are blowing out of the clinging air;
> Like heavy-flooded waters our bodies and our blood,
> But purer than a tall candle before the Holy Rood,
> Is Cathleen, the daughter of Hoolihan."

Yeats then practically resolved

> "And I will make a thousand songs
> And set your name all names above."

It is significant that the motto to the volume of poems entitled "Responsibilities" (pub. 1914) is a quotation from an unknown Old Play, *viz.*, "In[2] dreams begins responsibility."

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[1] *Vide* Notes on Plays, pp. 418-419 (1903).

[2] *Cf.* "The Hour Glass" (Prose Version, 1903), and the "Unicorn from the Stars" (1907) for the character of Martin Hearne. In "Fergus and the Druid" the latter fulfils the Red Branch hero's highest ambition by offering him the "little bag of dreams which contains all wisdom. *Vide* also "A Prayer on going into My House."

In "the Queen and the Fool" (of "Celtic Twilight") we read of a man whom Yeats met saying "If I had that woman's power of vision I would know all the wisdom of the Gods." Then Yeats adds that he knew of another woman "who would pass in sleep into countries of an earthly beauty."

In these days of adolescence the forest-side, seabeach, every stream, every field, nay every hedge, bush or tree had its phantom for his alert poetic fancy and the twilight was something of an irresistible fascination, as we know it has ever been to all romantic imaginations. In the "Golden[1] Age" he tells us "The last time I had been to Sligo I had longed for a message from those beings or bodiless moods, or whatever they be, who inhabit the world of spirits. The message came as I lay between sleeping and waking." In another prose piece of "the Celtic Twilight" he contrasts the treatment meted out to ghosts[2] and fairies in Scotland where people are too theological and gloomy and look upon these creatures as pagan and wicked with what is done in Ireland, where "there is something of timid affection between men and spirits and each admits the other to have feelings," for "the Catholic religion likes to keep on good terms with its neighbours." He adds later on "For their gay and graceful doings you must go to Ireland; for their deeds of terror to Scotland." Again in "the Eaters of Precious Stones" he confesses that "Sometimes when I have been shut off from common interests and have for a little forgotten to be restless, I get waking dreams, now faint and shadow-like, now vivid and solid-looking like the material world under my feet." At the age of sixteen he composed a short poem in the näive innocence of early youth when his fancy-enslaved eye would follow, he tells us, with intense attention

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[1] In "The Celtic Twilight" *cf.* also "Enchanted Woods."

[2] A Remonstrance with Scotsmen for having soured the disposition of their ghosts and fairies. For the poet's love of fairies and belief in them compare "Celtic Twilight" (pp. 213, 233, 245, 250. 268-69, 270-75 of Early Poems and Stories Volume) and Introductory Rhymes to the "Shadowy Waters" (1906 version).

> "A ring-dove's ash-grey gleam of feather"

and

> "Noon wrapt the trees in veils of violet weather
> And on the tip-toe the winds a-whispering stood."[*]

Then a maiden engaged in weaving, perched on a seat of moss, sang as if to him, saying

> "I am lone Lady Quietness, my sweet,
> And on this loom I weave thy destiny."

The destiny thus mysteriously woven has given to the world this great singer of the Celtic movement in modern Ireland. I may here add in passing that the volume of essays and stories called "The Celtic Twilight" from which I have just quoted only a few sentences serves as a helpful commentary on Yeats's poetic visions and poetic beliefs and its first edition appeared when the National Literary Society of Ireland was founded at Dublin which was largely instrumental in inaugurating the establishment of the Irish National Drama. I shall rest content with a bare mention of the fact that Yeats was at the head of this epoch-making movement with George Russel, better known as A. E., as his lieutenant, and Seumas O'Sullivan, James Stephen, Padric Colum, Gilbert Cannan, Lord Dunsany, James H. Cousins and Lady [1] Gregory as valuable co-operators and associates. The movement is now practically dead but its work is done.

In his Notes to his poems Yeats observes "From the moment I began 'the Wanderings of Usheen' (or Oisin), which I did at the age of 20, I believe my subject-matter became Irish," and, in the Dedication of his volume of "Early Poems and Stories" republished in 1925, he adds "I tried after the publication of the Wanderings of Oisin to write of nothing but emotion and in the simplest language." These are very significant hints and we have to fix them carefully in our minds for a just estimate of the poet, for this explains an important change in his craftsmanship. We cannot do better than turn for a moment to the poem "A Coat" included in "Responsibilities" (pub. 1914) :—

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[*] *Vide* Preface (of May, 1922) to "Plays in Prose and Verse" and Notes to the volume (at the end) specially pp. 417, 418, 421 and 426, and Notes to "Early Poems and Stories" p. 528, and the Preface to Later Poems (1922).

> "I made my song a coat
> Covered with embroideries
> Out of old mythologies
> From heel to throat;
> But the fools caught it
> Wore it in the world's eyes
> As though they'd wrought it.
> Song, let them take it,
> For there's more enterprise
> In walking naked."

The embroidered coat has reference to his early efforts in which we find that he is also a link with the past. This link connects him closely with the poets of the English Romantic Revival and its later decay. In his early narrative, descriptive, or lyrical pieces he has much in common with Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Moore, Morris, Rossetti and Patmore, at least in their manner, though his poems are almost invariably based on Celtic folk-lore, ancient Irish legends and superstitious beliefs, popular ghost-stories and fairy tales, universally current among the rude but highly imaginative and sensitive Irish fishermen, peasantry or shepherds, particularly the inhabitants of the county of Sligo, of Rosses, Drumcliff and Dumahair.[1] Yeats has largely and freely drawn on these for his poetical materials. But his mode of treatment of these native themes was at first largely determined by the influence of the English romanticists.

The long narrative piece[2] "The Wanderings of Oisin" (or Usheen) *in its framework* is indebted to Coleridge's "Ancient

[1] *Cf* "Drumcliff and Rosses" in "The Celtic Twilight."

[2] There was another poem on the subject by the 18th century Gaelic poet, Michael

Mariner," in its narrative portions shows intimate relationship with William Morris, in its rich descriptions is connected with Keats's Endymion, in its idealistic suggestion with Shelley's Alastor and in its exuberant details bears the stamp of Rossetti. The poem was published in 1889 but commenced when Yeats was barely 20 years old. As in Coleridge's poem, the hero recounts to St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, his interminable experiences of 300 years' long wandering in the land of fairies and the heroine, Niam, the daughter of Aengus, a high-born maid on horseback much resembles Keats's La Belle Dame Sans Merci. The whole poem is shot through with the glamour of enchanting romance in its 3 parts representing the islands of (1) dance, song and love, (2) of strifes and victories and finally (3) of lost memories. The aim of the piece is to show the contrast between the ancient Ireland of Pagan faith and a Pagan enjoyment of beauty and the later one of Christianity. "The Crucifixion of the Outcast," a prose piece in "The Secret Rose" (1897) serves as a commentary on this narrative poem.

There are unmistakable echoes of Keats and Tennyson in certain passages of the 1st and 2nd parts of this poem and a romantic melancholy note which however is different from the deep sadness of Shelley or Keats. Book II is decidedly more supernatural and remarkable for its song quality and descriptive passages, especially the poet's exquisitely skilful delineation of sunset which is quite a favourite theme with Yeats. The contrast between the age prior to Christ's advent and the days of His coming is fine. The 3rd Book is noticeable for its metre and the interesting dialogue towards the end between Usheen and St. Patrick containing suggestive references to old Ireland. As samples of his early workmanship I shall quote only a few lines.

Comyn, called "The Lay of Oisin in the Land of Youth" (with an English translation which appeared in O'Grady's "Transactions of the Ossianic Society," Vol. IV). Now, Oisin is the same as Ossian (son of Finn or Finn mac Coul *i.e.*, Gaelic Fionn mac Cumhail, chief of the clan Fianna Eirinn). *Vide* Lady Gregory's "Gods and Fighting Men" and J. G. Campbell's "The Fians."

"You are bent, and bald, and blind
With a heavy heart and a wandering mind,
Have known three centuries, poets sing,
Of dalliance with a demon thing."

The last line reproduces Rossetti's manner. But still more so the lines

"We danced to where in the winding thicket
The damask roses, bloom on bloom,
Like crimson meteors hang in the gloom." etc.

Who can fail to catch the note of Coleridgian nature glamour in the lines?

" But now the moon like a white rose shone
In the pale West, and the sun's rim sank,
And clouds arrayed their rank on rank
About his fading crimson ball."

But we must pass on. Even in this imitative effort we discover with great joy the musical gift of a born poet which forms his distinctive mark. There is visible also a keen Keatsian eye for sensuous beauty and a prodigal's profusion of lyrical charms, who sows not with the hand but with a whole sack emptied at a time. Nay more. Even now the poet's voice at times grows distant and dreamy lured by the siren songs of the fairy[1] people with whom his youthful heart is intensely in

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[1] Many of the prose pieces of " The Celtic Twilight " bear evidence of this tendency in Yeats. In the " Enchanted Woods " we have—" I say to myself, when I am well out of the thicket of argument, *that they are surely there*, the divine people, for only we who have neither simplicity nor wisdom have denied them, and the simple of all times and the wise men of ancient times *have seen them and even spoken to them*. They live out their passionate lives not far off, as I think, and we shall be among them when we die if we but keep our natures simple and passionate. May it not even be that death shall unite us to all romance ?" (Italics are mine.)

The Irish fairy folk appear, we know, under various forms and names. They are the children of Lillith, the Shining Ones, the Untiring ones, the Forgetful people or good people or better known as, *Sídhe* (pronounced "Shee" *cf.* Banshee), so called especially by the peasantry. Perhaps the original Irish gods and goddesses and later cycle of heroes too gradually became transformed into fairies (*cf.* the terms Fer-Sídhe and Bean-Sídhe), Ireland at one time abounded in barrows or small hills called Sídh or Sídhe assigned by love, and what is more important, we notice signs of an ingrained tendency towards a mystic view of life, or at all events, of the ideal quality of his poetry showing his affinity with Blake and Shelley. I shall refer once more to this element of idealism in Yeats later on in another connection.

The 2nd volume (of lyrics) under the title "Crossways" appeared in 1888 or 1889. Here is yet visible the romanticist's love of far-off lands and three poems are frankly on Indian subjects—(1) Anashuya and Vijaya, (2) The Indian upon God and (3) The Indian to his Love. There is very little of poetry in these but local colour has been successfully given by the Indian feeling for all God's little creatures whom Brahma himself protects from all harm and by the lines in which the priestess of the temple (Anashuya) adjures Vijaya:—

> "Swear by the parents of the Gods,
> Dread oath, who dwell on sacred Himalaya,
> On the far Golden Peak; enormous shapes,
> Who still were old when the great sea was young;
> On their vast faces mystery and dreams."

The ballad of "Moll Magee" in this volume is out and out Wordsworthian. Like Cowper,[1] Burns and Wordsworth he is full of delicate sensitiveness to the little joys and sorrows of wild animals—owls, swallows, peahens, parrots, the moor-fowl, spiders, squirrels, rabbits, water-rats, mice and frogs—whose engaging ways are dwelt upon with genuine love. He has also a poet's keen eye for daffodils, foxgloves and marigolds. All this establishes his kinship with Wordsworth. Yet evidence is not wanting that Yeats was quickly outgrowing this

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the primitive Celts to these *invisible people.* Tradition still speaks of "Sídhe Bodb (*i.e.*, "Shee Bove") in Galway, Sídhe Meadha (now called Knockma) the abode of the king of the fairies, not to speak of the God Dagda's famous Brugh-na-Boyne in Meath (in New Grange) of which after the fashion of Chronos and Zeus, Dagda became deprived by his wily son Angus. Medb (pronounced Meave) is the original of Queen Mab but their present Queen is Onagh and the present King of the Irish fairies is Linvarra.

[1] *Cf.* "Ballad of the Foxhunter," "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time," St. 2 and "To a Squirrel."

tutelage and discovering his own individual art. Let me quote the short but exquisitely beautiful poem "The Falling of the Leaves."

"Autumn is over the long leaves that love us,
And over the mice in the barley sheaves;
Yellow the leaves of the rowan above us
And yellow the wet wild straw-berry leaves.
The hour of the waning of love has beset us
And weary and worn are our sad souls now;
Let us part, ere the season of passion forget us,
With a kiss and a tear on the drooping brow."

Here we have a foretaste of that high poetic quality which distinguishes the classical piece "The Lake Isle of Innisfree" included in the volume called "The Rose" which was destined to appear soon (pub. 1893)—a piece which every reader of Yeats's poetry admires for its chaste unadorned simplicity, its rare and exquisite beauty, its poetic charm and perfection of artless art.

With what an extraordinary skill in melody does the poet waft into the midst of our humdrum routine life of joyless toil a stray enchanting musical note from the remote Elfland that promises solace to the sick children of this earth in the poem "The Stolen Child"? I shall rest content with a single stanza—

"Where the wave of moonlight glosses
The dim grey sands with light,
Far off by furthest Rosses
We foot it all the night,[1]
Weaving olden dances,
Mingling hands and mingling glances,
Till the moon has taken flight;
To and fro we leap
And chase the frothy bubbles,
While the world is full of troubles
And is anxious in its sleep.

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[1] *Cf.* Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream."

Come away, O human child![1]
To the waters and the wild
With a fairy, hand in hand,
For the world's more full of weeping than you can understand."

The immemorial olden dances of these ethereally delicate creatures whose sole joy is in chasing frothy bubbles open before our captivated imagination a limitless vista and all our worldly troubles vanish indeed at the touch of the enchanting music which continues to ring in our ears through the long-drawn-out rhythm of the closing line. We also note here the unmistakable promise of his early fascination for mere sensuous beauty bidding fair to quickly ripen into something ethereal.

The poetic career of Yeats may be roughly divided into three well-defined stages and I have traced his development from his juvenile imitative efforts to the end of this first phase of apprenticeship closing with 1890. Before we bid farewell to this growing youthful poet I shall just glance at one poem more of the "Crossways" series (pub. 1889) dedicated to A. E. This poem is "The Song of the Happy Shepherd" addressed to the sick children of the world who are advised not to simply worship dusty deeds but to "dream, dream,[2] for this is also sooth," even though the "songs of old earth's dreamy youth" are for ever vanished, for

"The woods of Arcady are dead
And over is their antique joy;
Of old the world on dreaming fed
Grey Truth is now her painted toy.
* * * *
The kings of the old time are fled
The wandering earth herself may be
Only a sudden flaming word
In clanging space a moment heard
Troubling the endless reverie."

[1] This reminds one of M. Arnold.

[2] *Cf.* "The Golden Age" in "The Celtic Twilight" and Forgael in "The Shadowy Waters" "calling out in his sleep" who is always in "a crazy dream" and subject to "shadows and fantasies."

This is how with the poet now on the threshold of coming maturity we leave behind his early romantic outlook on life and pass on to the second period of his poetic growth.

The next volume of lyrical poems "The Rose" (pub. 1893) contains the poem "To Ireland in the Coming Times" which serves as a land-mark. Originally this piece formed part of "The Countess Cathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics" published in 1891. I should add that this earlier volume is based on a collection of popular Irish folk-lore and marks an artistic transition in Yeats which must be carefully noted. In this connection I quote a significant prose passage from "The Celtic Twilight" of 1893 ("By the Roadside) in which Yeats says—

"There is no song or story handed down among the cottages that has not words and thoughts to carry one far to the beginning of the world. Folk art is, indeed, the oldest of the aristocracies of thought, and because it refuses what is passing and trivial, the merely clever and[1] pretty, as certainly as the vulgar and insincere, and because it has gathered into itself the simplest and most unforgettable thoughts of the generations, it is the soil where all great art is rooted. In a society that has cast out imaginative tradition, only a few people, favoured by their own characters and by happy circumstance, have understanding of imaginative things, and yet 'the imagination is the man himself.' ** And so we who would re-awaken imaginative tradition by making old songs live again or by gathering old stories into books take part in the quarrel of Galilee" (*i.e.*, between Christ and the adverse Jews and here the Jews are "those who are Irish and yet would spread foreign ways which, for all but few, are ways of spiritual poverty").

This valuable critical canon of art now adopted by Yeats is far-reaching in its consequences. Let me, however, without further comment quote a few lines from the poem mentioned above :

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[1] *Vide* "this disgusting and pretty-fying," *supra*, page 2, lines 19-20.

> " Know that I would accounted be
> True brother of that company
> Who sang to sweeten Ireland's wrong
> Ballad and story, rann and song.
>
> * * *
>
> Nor may I less be counted one
> With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson,
> Because to him, who ponders well,
> My rhymes more than their rhyming tell
> Of things discovered in the deep
> Where only body's laid asleep.
>
> * * *
>
> Ah, fairies, dancing under the moon,
> A Druid land, a Druid tune!
> While still I may, I write for you
> The love I lived, the dream I knew.
> From our birthday, until we die,
> Is but the winking of an eye;
> And we, our singing and our love,
> What measurer Time has lit above,
> And all benighted things that go
> About my table to and fro,
> Are passing on to where may be
> In truth's consuming ecstasy
> No place for love and dream at all;
> For God goes by with white foot-fall.
> I cast my heart into my rhymes,
> That you, in the dim coming times,
> May know how my heart went with them
> After the red-rose-bordered hem."

Now, here the red-rose-bordered hem refers to that Ireland

> " Whose history began
> Before God made the angelic clan."

This intense love of his ancient land is here closely associated with ideas which we of the East at once recognise as having a distinct Indian flavour all their own.

Now, we all know that Moore in the first quarter of the 19th century pathetically sang about Ireland's wrongs and his mantle fell on Davis who died in 1845 and Mangan who died in 1849, fighting the cause of Irish political freedom with their pen instead of the sword and Ferguson continued the fight almost up to the end of the century. These poets in impassioned lyrics and political ballads stirred the people's hearts and inspired them with the ideal of emancipation from an alien supremacy and a foreign domination.[1] Finally, the Druid tune was charged with a note of mysticism. Yeats having shaken off his allegiance to the English poets, from Wordsworth to the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, now started on his new career of intimate affinity with the poetical tradition of his own country.

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

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[1] Ireland's political struggle since Walfe Tone's days (1798) and Emmet's insurrection (1803) engaged the attention of literary men particularly in and from 1848 when O'Mahony's Fenian Brotherhood was established in America followed by O'Leary's leadership in 1865. *Vide* Lecky's *Leaders of Opinion.*

LABOUR, PROPERTY AND TARIFF POLICIES IN STATESMANSHIP AND POLITICAL IDEALS (FROM BISMARCK TO LENIN AND MUSSOLINI : 1870-1927)

SECTION 1.

The Age of Bismarck

(1870-1905.)

Ideology : (1) Trade-unions constitute the basis of social organization, (2) Right to strike, (3) Protection of the interests of the weaker classes by law, (4) Tariff higher and higher, (5) Constructive social legislation, (6) Trusts a powerful force, (7) Co-operative movement, (8) " Reformist " or " Revisionist " socialism, (9) Revolutionary syndicalism.

1870-85. The " Knights of Labour " are organized in America. They form socialistic trade-unions. The eight-hour day movement is associated with their activities.

1871-76. The First Trade Union Acts are passed in England. The legalization of combinations and strikes is their foremost feature.[1]

1874-1885. **Schaeffle** : *Quintessenz des Sozialismus*. The eighth German edition (1885) mentions the advance made towards a policy of " positive socialism " and " my own scientific participation in the movements connected with it." The Bismarckian programme of state-socialism is implied here. He rejects Marx's theory of " democratic collectivism " *i.e.*, "social democracy" as (*a*) impracticable and tending to economic chaos and (*b*) as indifferent to that " authority " which the legally organized public production would render necessary. *Cf.* his *Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Social-demokratie* (The Hopelessness of Social Democracy), 1885. It is absolutely impossible, says Schaeffle, to ascertain *how much* of the value of the common produce *each individual* has produced. He condemns the " fanatic craving for equality among the masses " and the faith in a sudden and revolutionary introduction of collective production. The " intellectual " services rendered by " democratic socialism " (Marxism) are, however, appreciated as having critically and politically suggested the " positive social reform" which has been taken in hand by the Government in Germany since the last edition of the *Q.* was published. (See also his *Compulsory Incorporated Benefit Funds* and *Incorporation of Mortgage Credit.*)

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[1] Hutchins : *History of Factory Legislation* (English), London, 1907.

1879. **Henry George** (1839-97), American: *Progress and Poverty*: He is an agricultural socialist and believes in the confiscation of rent. The abolition of private property in land is his panacea for economic evils. He is a radical "single taxer."[1]

1880. The Fair Trade League (modified protectionism) in England is directed against the growing German and French commercial expansion, and promotes the inter-Empire free trade idea.

At the same time free trade is abolished in Germany by Bismarck.

1881. American Federation of Labour is established.

1884. *Syndicats* or trade unions are legalized in France. Right to strike is conceded (*cf.* England 1871-76).

1884. The Fabian Society is established (Sidney and Beatrice **Webb, Shaw, Wells,** Mrs. Annie **Besant,** Graham **Wallas,** R. H. **Tawney**). Reform rather than revolution is the slogan of this Society. Neutrality in politics or non-political economism and social service is the public policy. "Unearned increments" of capital and land are to be nationalized (*cf.* Mill and Henry George). "Social Service" activities lead to municipal and state socialism. The Society propagates collectivism such as is later condemned as the characteristic of the "servile state" by Belloc (1912) and the *New Age* group (guild-socialists). The chief literature is to be found in *Fabian Essays in Socialism* (1889) with the gospel of state ownership of land and capital.

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[1] " Le nationalisme du sol " (Land-nationalization) in Rambaud's *Histoire des doctrines economiques*, Paris, 1909.

Land-nationalization has been advocated by Loria (1857-1926) in *La teoria economica della constituzione politica* (Economic Foundations of Society), Turin, 1886, Oppenheimer in his *Siedlungs-genossenschaft*, Colonising co-operation (Berlin, 1896).

1884-85. The Third Reform Bill provides universal suffrage. A working-class political democracy is for the first time rendered possible in England.

1886. **Loria** (1857-1926), Italian; *La teoria economica della costituzione politica* (Economic Foundations of Society): Democracy is a mere word, says he, as long as inequalities exist in property. Class-exploitation is guaranteed to-day by recourse to "connective institutions," *viz.*, morality, law and politics. He promulgates a monistic, 100 per cent "economic determinism." (Contrast **Seligman's** *Economic Interpretation of History*, New York, 1902 which presents a more reasonable because pluralistic view.)

1886-96. Social Assurance is initiated and new land-legislation enacted in Germany.[1] The world witnesses the legal embodiment of socialism in diverse economic spheres. The period is marked, however, by anti-trade union measures. Sickness Insurance (1883). Accident Insurance (1884). Old Age Insurance (1889).

Rentenguts-gesetzgebung (Rent-land legislation), 1890, leads to the establishment of "colonists" on small "family-farms" with state aid. Professor **Sering's** *Innere Kolonisation* or

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[1] Kaskel: *Die Sozialpolitische Gesetzgebung* (Socio-political Legislation), Berlin 1921. On the beginnings of social insurance as well as modern land-reform in Germany, see Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926). It is German state-socialism that virtually appears as *solidarisme* in French thought (*cf.* Durkheim, Bourgeois, Bougle and Gide).

Internal Colonising (Leipzig, 1893) furnishes the theory of the movement.

Prussian Central Co-operative State Bank is founded (1895).

In the legislation inspired by state-socialism or "solidarism" one comes into contact with the *Transformations du droit civil* (the transformations of civil law) such as are described later by **Charmont** in a book under this title and by **Duguit** in *Le Droit social et le droit individuel et la transformation de l'etat* (social law, individual law, and the transformation of the state), 1908.

1886. National Federation of Syndicates is established in France. **Guesde**, the leader, is Marxist. The object of the federation is to carry on effectively the economic war of the workingmen against the employers. It succeeds in popularizing the idea of the "general strike."

The rival associations are amalgamated at the Limoges Conference (1895) into the *Confederation Generale du Travail* (C.G.T.) or General Confederation of Labour. Non-political economism is formulated as the policy of the C.G.T. during the very first years of its existence. General strike is taken to be the fundamental weapon. The *syndicats* are to be kept independent of political parties (1895). The C.G.T. accepts boycott and *sabotage* as weapons of offensive and defensive war (1895-97). Positively anti-political tenets are developed between 1897 and 1900. The suppression of standing armies is demanded. The internationalism of labour *vs.* that of capital is preached. Patriotism is definitely condemned as a means of exploiting the weak in the interests of the strong (1899-1900).

The C. G. T. exposes the socialistic pro-labour attempts at legislation by **Waldeck-Rousseau** and the "pseudo-socialist" **Millerand** as schemes for restraining the revolutionary action of the *syndicats* (1900-1902). The syndicalists would have nothing but "direct action" by strikes, sabotage, etc., against employers.

The C. G. T. is amalgamated with the *Fédération des Bourses* which ceases to exist separately (1902). The weekly organ is *La Voix du Peuple* or Voice of the People (started 1900, with **Pouget** as editor).

1887-98. Tariff war rages between Italy and France.

Dingley Tariff Act (1897) in the U. S. A. provides higher protection than the **McKinley** Act (1890).[1]

1889. The Second International (Labour) is established at Paris (later known as the Berne International). Nine congresses are held until 1914. It has been revived in 1919 (at Amsterdam) and is known to be "moderate" as contrasted with the Bolshevik or Communist International (Moscow, 1919).

1890-1904. The **Sherman** Anti-Trust Act penalizes "trusts" in the sense of guardians or trustees such as take over the business from different companies whose shareholders cease to function as voters. "Holding companies" are treated as identical with trusts and declared illegal.

1891. **Engels's** Preface to Marx's *Civil War in France* gives a resume of the lessons of the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871, and provides the *last word* of Marxism against the "superstitious faith in the state" (according to Lenin).[2]

1892. *Fédération des Bourses du Travail* (Federation of Labour Exchanges) is established at Paris to find employment and to unify the demands of the working-men's syndicates.

Pelloutier (1867-1901), secretary of the *Federation des Bourses du Travail* (1894-1901), is an anarchist-communist, *i.e.*, opposed to Marxism. He promotes the idea of the non-political, purely economic interests. The Report of 1896 is his work. "The task of the revolution," says he, "is to free mankind not only from all authority but also from every institution which has not for its essential purpose the development of production." In his *Histoire des Bourses du Travail* "History of Labour Exchanges" (1902), he accepts Proudhon and Bakunin as *gurus* in opposition to Marx, and has no place for the state in his ideology. Trade unions of producers constitute the only authority, in his eyes. He would combine vocational with territorial representation in the organization of unions.[1]

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[1] Taussig: *Tariff History of the United States*, New York, 1923; Gignoux; *L'apres-guerre et la politique commerciale* (Post-War Conditions and Commercial Policy). Paris, 1924.

[2] Lenin: *State and Revolution*, London, 1917.

1894-99. **Meline** Act: *Credit Agricole* is established in France under the Ministry of Agriculture to distribute "short" and "intermediate" credit on easy terms to members of local co-operative societies on the strength of advances made by the *Banque de France.*[2]

1896-99. **Bernstein** (1850-): "*Probleme des Sozialismus*" (Problems of Socialism), articles in the *Neue Zeit*, *Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (Preconditions of socialism and the aims of social democracy), 1899: He makes a deliberate and conscious attempt to "interpret" and "revise" the Marxian gospel as finally embodied in the creed promulgated at Erfurt Congress (1891). He is a "moderate." This "Revisionism" is opposed by Kautsky as "heresy" but wins ground.

1897. **Sorel** (1847-): *L'Avenir Socialiste des Syndicats* (The socialist future of the syndicates). He accepts Marx as the *guru* but begins by revising and modifying him to suit the "recent" conditions; and furnishes his own key to Marxism.

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[1] Saint-Leon: *Syndicalisme Ouvrier et Syndicalisme Agricole*, Paris, 1920.

Foignet: *Legislation Industrielle*, 1925.

The "reformist" (as opposed to extremist or 100 per cent. Marxist) views of **Jaures** (1859-1915), the great French leader of the Second International (1889-1914) are available in English as *Studies in Socialism*, London, 1908.

According to Jaures, the complete socialization of capital and the authoritarian organization of production would be detrimental to progress. He prefers a decentralized collectivism in which the "professional groups" would enjoy the administration of property.

[2] Sarkar's "Law and the Cultivator: The Example of France" in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, December, 1926; de Saint-Genis: *Propriete Rurale en France* (Rural Property in France), Paris, 1902.

Socialism is to be developed within the bosom of capitalism itself. He would provide moral education of the working class in and through the syndicates. "General strike" is in his terminology a "social myth," *i.e.*, powerful dynamic image or sentiment. According to him such "myths" are indispensable for revolutionary movements. The working class must work against existing democracy which is based on the fiction of "general will."[1]

1898. Germany gets concession in Turkey for the Bagdad Railway.

1900. **Gide** (1847-): *La Co-operation.* He preaches the abolition of intermediaries with special reference to consumption and gives a fillip to what is developed by others as "solidarity"—"each for all" in the place of "each for himself." Division of labour and human inter-dependence are considered to be the foundations of modern economic order.

Cf. **Durkheim** (1858-1907): *De la division du travail social* (division of social labour) 1893; and *Essai d'une philosophie de la solidarite* (Essay on a philosophy of solidarity) edited by **Bourgeois** (1851-), 1902.

Paul-Boncour (1873-): *Le federalisme economique: etude sur les rapports de l'individu et des groupements professionnels* (Economic federalism, a study on the relations between the individual and professional groups), 1900.

1900. Agitation is directed against the power of trusts in the United States of America.

Kartellen-Enquete (Inquiry into cartels) is instituted in Germany by the Government (1903).

1902. German tariff is established on a protective basis and becomes highly specialized. Prof. **Wagner** furnishes the theory of the movement.

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[1] *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, a monthly founded by Lagardelle (1899), becomes the organ of revolutionary syndicalism after 1904. (*Cf.* The *New Age*, London, as organ of guild-socialism since 1907.) Contributors: Berth and Sorel.

England's position is represented by **Chamberlain's** protectionist duties and "colonial preference" (1903).[1]

1902. **Sombart** : *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (Modern Capitalism) focuses attention on the influence of modern economic organizations on political activities.

SECTION 2.

The Economic Isms of To-day, Theoretical and Applied (1905-1927).

Ideology: (1) Trade-unions, trusts and tariffs are important categories in public life and social thought, (2) anatomy of society is furnished by (*i*) capitalistic organisations (joint-stock companies, chambers of commerce, etc.), (*ii*) co-operative societies and (*iii*) labour associations, (3) world-finance and colonialism, (4) labour's revolt against the state: (*i*) radical: anarchistic-syndicalism, (*ii*) moderate: guild-socialism, (5) protectionism, (6) public ownership and municipal trading, (7) Labour Internationals.

1905. I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World) established in the United States. The leading part is played by the Western Federation of Miners. According to them working class and employing class have nothing in common. Between the two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system. The objects of the I. W. W. are (*i*) to subserve the immediate interests of the working class, (*ii*) to effect their final emancipation, and (*iii*) to promote *class*-consciousness as contrasted with the "craft"-consciousness of the American Federation of Labour (A. F. L.). They believe that organizations of the "industrial union" type as contrasted with the "craft union" type would render it possible to wage the class war under favourable conditions.

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[1] Plaut: *Deutsche Handelspolitik* (German Commercial Policy), Leipzig, 1924.

"Craft union" is an association which unites the workers engaged in a single industrial *process*. "Industrial unions" are associations in which all the different classes of workers engaged in the different processes of a *whole industry* are united.[1]

1905. Non-official studies on cartels are instituted in Germany under the auspices of *Verein fuer Socialpolitik*. Professors **Brentano** and **Schmoller** suggest that (*i*) the affairs of cartels should be officially known to the government for the purpose of control; and that (*ii*) the state should intervene in order to regulate fair wages.

1906. **Penty** (1873-) *Restoration of the Guild System*. He promotes the appreciation of "medieval economy" on the lines of Ruskin and Morris, and suggests the conversion of trade-unions into "craft guilds." He would have political government replaced by industrial government. Opposition to large-scale production is one of his slogans. In his scheme the craftsman is to own the instruments of production. He is a champion of excessive medievalism, guilds being the basis of society: "cottage industries" are to be the ideal. "Away from machineries" is another slogan.

1907. **Jack London**, American novelist, *The Iron Heel*. He represents revolutionary socialism and is Marxian in outlook. His message may be summed up thus: "We want all that you possess. We want in our hands the reins of power and the destinies of mankind. Here are our hands. They are strong hands."

1907-1914. German socialism becomes preponderantly "revisionist," *i.e.*, moderate or reformist and sympathetic to imperialism and nationalism, protection and war budgets. The socialists **Hasse** and **Scheidemann** assume the role of "patriots" (nationalists) and reject the tenets of class-struggle and internationalism.

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[1] Brooks: *American Syndicalism*: *The I. W. W.*, New York, 1913. Brissenden: *The I. W. W.*: *A Study of American Syndicalism*, New York, 1919.

1907-12. **Orage** (1873-) reorganizes the *New Age* weekly, opposes Fabianism, collectivism and state socialism (*cf.* Belloc), and proposes the control of industry by workers. He would develop trade-unions on the lines of medieval guilds, and demands abolition of the wage system.

1908-11. Socialistic legislation (Bismarckian) in England even under Liberal (**Lloyd George**) regime : (1) old age pension (1908), (2) minimum wage (1909), (3) national insurance (1911).[1]

Cf. the French laws :—1905 (old age pension for persons over 70), 1910 (pensions to working men at 60).

1908-11. Syndicalist thought in France is represented by (1) workingmen and their own leaders such as Griffuelhes, Pouget, Pataud and others and (2) intellectuals associated with the monthly *Mouvement Socialiste* such as the editor Lagardelle, Sorel, Berth, etc.

Griffuelhes, secretary to C. G. T. (1901-8), is the author of *L'Action Syndicaliste* (1908), *Les objectives de nos luttes de classes* (The Aims of our Class Struggle), 1909, *Voyage revolutionnaire* (Impressions or career of a revolutionist) 1910 : General strike is the only weapon capable of assuring the triumph of the proletariat. It is the objective of all wills, the spirit that moves, and the ferment that works the spirits.

Pouget, assistant secretary to the C. G. T. (1900-8), is the author of *La Confederation Generale du Travail* (1908), and *Sabotage* (1910), and editor of *La Voix du peuple,* weekly organ of the C. G. T. since 1900.

Pataud and **Pouget** are the joint authors of *Comment nous ferons la revolution* (How we shall make the revolution) 1909.

Lagardelle, founder of the monthly, *Le Mouvement Socialiste,* syndicalist since 1904, is the author of *Le Socialisme*

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[1] "Socialisme d'Etat" in Rambaud's *Histoire des doctrines economiques.* Paris, 1909. See Knowles : *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in England during the Nineteenth Century,* London, 1926.

Ouvrier (Workingmen's socialism), 1911, *La greve generale et le socialisme* (General strike and Socialism), 1905.

Sorel : *La Decomposition du Marxisme*, 1908 : In his interpretation Marxism has never sought to create an authoritarian state but intends rather to institute free associations with the object of organizing production. Proletarian revolution would remove the state. *La Volence* (1910) : Socialistic legislation has dampened the ardour of the working class to a certain extent. But in order to achieve proletarian dictatorship it is necessary to cultivate the spirit of violence, fervour and enthusiasm such as characterised the primitive Christians as well as the soldiers of Napoleon.

Berth : *Les Nouveaux aspects du socialisme* (New Aspects of Socialism), 1908 : According to him Marx wished that syndical life should not dissipate itself in political action. The real social cell is not the party, the club, or the political committee but the workshop. The "party" is the organisation of the bourgeois, the merchant, the lawyer who seeks a parliamentary position. But the *syndicat* (trade union) is the organisation of the workingman, the proletariat. It is the workingmen's syndicate that will create the society of the future. It would be stupid attempting to describe that future regime with precision. He champions the abolition of the state and wants collective property of the producers.

Yvetot: *Manuel de Soldat* (The Soldier's Manual) preaches pacificism and antipathy to war, makes corresponding propaganda among soldiers, attracts them to the *Bourses du travail* (labour-exchanges) and promotes international action of the syndicalists against war.[1]

1909. Poor Law Commission in England : Majority report is directed against state intervention (*cf.*, the old view, 1834). Minority report is in favour, would abolish the poor law and would institute special machinery to deal with unemployment. It believes that "public" (state) assistance is a good rather than an evil. The ministry of labour is established in 1916. The Minority report has the public opinion behind it and in fact is the basis of the Maclean Report (1918) which demands the abolition of the Boards of Guardians and virtually of the Poor Law itself.[1]

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[1] Saint-Leon's *Syndicalisme ouvrier* (Workingmen's Syndicalism), Paris, 1920. Pataud and Pouget's "*Comment ferons nous la revolution* is available as *Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth* with a foreword by Tom Mann (British Syndicalist) and preface by Kropotkin the Russian anarchist, London 1913. Jouhaux : *Le Syndicalisme et le C. G. T.* ; Moon : *The Labour Problem and the Social Catholic Problem in France*. N. Y. 1921.

1909. **Kautsky** (1854-) : German socialist, a leader of the Second International (1889-1914) : *The Road to Power* points out the intensification of class antagonism in general and the growth of imperialism in particular, and describes how after the "revolutionary period of 1789-1871" in Western Europe an analogous period begins for the East in 1905. He believes that a world-war is coming nearer with threatening rapidity. The revolutionary era is beginning. "The present situation contains this danger that we, the German social-democracy, may easily be considered more moderate than we are in reality."[2]

1912. **Belloc** : *Servile State* condemns the collectivism—the municipal and state socialism—of the Fabians (Shaw, Wells, the Webbs, etc), and proposes a distributivist state. The "instinct of ownership" is to be distributed as widely as possible. He appreciates the peasant proprietors and guilds of the Middle Ages and opposes all socialistic legislation (*cf.* Orage and the *New Age*).

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[1] Webb (S. and E.) : *English Poor Law Policy*, London, 1910.

[2] Note how in spite of his staunch devotion to Marxism, revolutionary fervour and fights with the "opportunists" or "moderate" socialists such as Millerand, Bernstein, etc. (*cf.* his *Bernstein and Social Democratic Programme*, 1899 *Social Revolution*, 1902) Kautsky is condemned as "opportunist," corruptor and perverter of Marxism by Lenin in his *Imperialism* (1916) and *State and Revolution* (1917). See Kautsky : *Sozialismus und Kolonial-politik* (Socialism and Colonial Policy), Berlin, 1907 ; Simkhovitch : *Marxism vs. Socialism*, New York, 1913. Stroebel : *German Revolution and After*, New York, 1923. Laidler : *History of Socialist Thought*, London, 1927.

1914. Trusts (such as are legal) come under the control of the Government in U. S. A. The Federal Trade Commission replaces the Bureau of Corporations (established in 1903) in the same fashion as the Inter-State Commerce Commission does. The **Clayton** Anti-Trust Act strengthens the Sherman Act.[1]

1914. *Report on State and Municipal Enterprise* by the **Webbs** : 12 million people in England in collectivist business.

1914-18. The Great War promotes the "key industries" movement (Lord **Balfour**).

1915. National Guilds League is founded, London.[2]

1919. The Committee on Trusts appointed by the Government (British) suggests (*i*) publicity about trade associations through the Board of Trade as well as (*ii*) the establishment of official machinery to deal with abuses.[3] *cf.* Germany, 1905.

1919. League of Nations, Bureau of Labour :—Nine principles of labour : (1) labour not a mere commodity, (2) right of association among both employees and employers, (3) wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, (4) eight-hour day, (5) weekly rest of 24 hours, (6) abolition of child labour, (7) equality between men and women *re* payment, (8) equitable treatment of employees, (9) inspection in which women are to take part.

1919. The Third International, with headquarters at Moscow (also known as Communist International or "Comintern"), issues the *New Communist Manifesto* : The solution of the world crisis is possible through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only possible league of nations is a world-wide federation of workers' republics. Genuine self-government is to be granted to all colonies. The proletariat must create its own political machinery, *e.g.*, workers' councils, the soviets. "Disarm the bourgeoisie, arm the proletariat." Direct action is the method advocated.[1]

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[1] Wilson : *New Freedom*, New York, 1914. *The Federal Anti-Trust Laws*, Washington, 1923.

[2] Hobson, G. S. *National Guilds and the State*, 1919, London.

[3] Fitzgerald : *Industrial Combination in England*, 1927, Sarkar : "Stinnes Complex in German Industry" in *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926) and "Trusts and Rationalization ; Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution" in *The Calcutta Review* (Sept. 1927).

1919. Imperial Preference becomes positive law in England. *cf.* Chamberlain, 1902-3.

1919. *Betriebs-raete-gesetz* (Law of Works-Councils) in Austria, in Germany (1920) and in Tchechoslovakia (1921) : In every concern with an employment of 20 or more workingmen and clerks there is to be a works-council to look after the economic, social and cultural interests of the workingmen. The works-council is to consist of representatives of the workingmen as well as of the employers. This joint council of the employers and workingmen has the right to examine the balance-sheets as well as suggest and introduce improvements in the technical administration of the business. These councils are not to replace the trade-unions but supplement and strengthen them.[2]

1919-23. **Marshall** (1842-1924) : *Industry and Trade* : (*a*) His investigations indicate socialistic "leanings"; he is convinced of the marvellous development of the working class faculty. But according to him no socialistic scheme is calculated to *raise* the real income of the working-classes although it may lead to *equalization* in the distribution of a country's total income. He popularises an eclectic approach to all those movements—both of employers and employees—which seek to promote the "selfish," "sectional" interests. "Class"-philosophy is the basis of his social investigations. (*b*) His conclusions are essentially capitalistic : In his judgment, benefits conferred by private capital on the society (including working classes) are increasing, while interest enjoyed by private capitalists is not increasing. He argues in behalf of the necessity of providing facilities for the promotion of "private capital." Progress depends on the taking of risks by private capital. New technical advances are not as a rule appreciated by governments. Every new idea in government enterprise is borrowed of private. Governments are competent only for routine work. Guild socialism is condemned as utopian and impractical: "Mr. Cole seems to follow closely in the paths of St. Simon, Fourier and other early socialists of noble character and vivid poetic imagination. The task of regulation is to be as simple as it would be if all men were as unselfish and earnest as the writer himself. The vast difficulties of modern business organisation are so completely left out of account as to imply that they have never been seriously studied." (*c*) Marshall's social philosophy is profoundly nationalistic (patriotic): *Money, Credit and Commerce* (1923): Sentiments are not always firmly based on reason; but economic reasonings which ignore them are likely to mislead. Labour and capital tend to migrate less easily between country and country than between different parts of the same country. The problems of national defence and national finance necessitate a firm control over a country's frontiers and dictate fiscal and financial policies.

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[1] Eden and Cedar Paul : *Communism*, Labour Pamphlet No. 3, London, 1921 ; Buharin : *A. B. C of Communism* ; Longuet : *La Politiqae internationale du Marxisme*, Paris, 1918 ; Hyndman : *Evolution of Revolution*, Marxian approach to the questions of justice, 1920 ; Bukharin : *Economic Theory of the Leisure d Class*, 1927 ; Postgate : *Bolshevist Theorv, 1920. Re* the philosophy, Geneva *vs.* Moscow, see Sarkar, *Politics of Boundaries* (chapters on the League and the Third International), 1926.

[2] Adler : *Betriebsraetegesetz*, Vienna, 1925.

1919. Land-reform in Germany: The government dictates limits to the amount of landed property to be held by single individuals. This is but another instance of the class of modern phenomena described in **Charmont's** *Les Transformations du droit civil* (Transformations of private or civil law.[1])

1919. French Syndicalist Congress at Lyons: Nationalization of land and water-transport, mines, water power and credit organization is decided upon as the goal ; Association of producers and consumers is to be the authority. Syndicalism is attempting to go beyond pure economism and venture into political fields.

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[1] On land-reform in Germany, Denmark, Great Britain and the Balkan States, see Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926). "*Die Bodenfrage in Russland*." *Die Bodenfrage in England*, and *Die Bodenfrage in Deutschland* (Land questions in Russia, England and Germany) before and since the Great War in Damaschke's *Bodenreform*, Jena, 1923; Hainisch: *Die Landflucht*, Jena, 1924; von Schullern *Agrarpolitik*, Jena, 1923.

1920. **Cole** (1889-) *Guild Socialism Restated, Social Theory, Reorganization of Local Government, World of Labour* (1913), *Self-Government in Industry* (1917).

The state is to own business plant. The operations of industry are to be controlled by operatives in a guild. The guild is to consist of labourers, manual and intellectual, on the functional basis. Economic sovereignty is to be shared between guilds and the state. Central control : (*a*) guild congress is to represent producers, (*b*) parliament is to represent consumers and (*c*) a central organization is to settle controversies between (*a*) and (*b*). Functional democracy is the goal. Sovereignty of the state is to be nullified. The state is really to be replaced by a "commune" consisting of a number of functional bodies. The vocational administration of industries and services is to be the essential feature.[1]

1920. Law of *syndicats professionnels* in France modifying the law of 1884 allows the formation of syndicates without previous sanction of Government.[2]

1920. **Douglas** and **Orage**: *Credit Power and Democracy.* Industrial democracy demands control over finance. Control over credit must come to the consumer. Communalization of credit is a supreme necessity. The establishment of labour-banks is a practical step in this direction.

1921. Split in the French syndicalist movement at the Tours conference. A new association—*Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire* "C. G. T. U." (United Confederation of Labour) is constituted on the Bolshevik principle. It becomes a member of the Third International (Moscow) and accepts the philosophy of direct action, sabotage and revolution. **Cachin** and **Vaillant-Coutourier** are two of the prominent communist-bolshevik syndicalists. They regard **Anatole France** as one of their *maitres*. Organs : *L'Humanite* (daily) and *Clarte* (weekly).

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[1] Reckitt and Bechhofer : *Meaning of National Guilds.* London, 1920 ; Carpenter : *Guild Socialism,* New York, 1922.

[2] For this and previous laws of workingmen in France see Foignet's *Legislation Industrielle,* Paris, 1925.

The old C. G. T. becomes "reformist," *i.e.* moderate, with allegiance to the revived Second International (Amsterdam).

1921. Italian tariff becomes "specialized," and protective in regard to "new" industries. **Fordney** Tariff Act (U. S. A.) is anti-dumping (1922). The Safeguarding of Industries Act in Great Britain has special reference to key industries, and is anti-dumping (1921).

1921-22. The "New Economic Policy" in Soviet Russia : Right to own property is conceded by **Lenin**, and along with it other non-communistic, traditional, bourgeois rights.[1]

1924. **Culbertson**, American : *Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the Commercial Policies of Nations, International Economic Policies.* He takes stand against British preferential tariff. The position of British Colonies as almost independent members at the League of Nations is inconsistent with the preferential tariff enjoyed by them within their Empire.[2]

1924. **Hainisch**, Austrian : *Die Landflucht* (The Exodus from Agriculture and Rural Areas) : The requirements of capitalistic business-economy are well met by manufacturing organizations. But neither psychologically nor technically is agriculture as yet well suited to capitalism. In the struggle

[1] Fuckner : *Russlands Neue Wirtschaftepolitik* (Russia's New Economic Policy), Leipzig, 1924 ; Freund : *Russlands Friedens und Handelsvertraege* (Russia's Peace and Commercial Treaties) (1918-24), Leipzig, 1924 ; Patouillet : *Les Codes de la Russie Sovietique* : (1) *Code de la Famille* (Law of Family), (2) *Code Civil,* Paris, 1925. Note Patouillet's remark *re* Duguit's influence on the civil law of Soviet Russia. Diehl : *Die Diktatur des Proletariats und das Raetesystem*, Jena, 1924. On Soviet Russia and the "New Economic Policy" of the Bolsheviks see Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries* (1926) and *Economic Development* (1926). *U. R. S. S. Annuaire politique et economique pour l'annee, 1925-26,* Moscow, 1927. Zimand : *State Capitalism in Russia,* New York, 1926.

[2] On population movements see Key Helmer, *New Colonial Policy,* 1927.

for existence and self-assertion between agriculture and manufacture, therefore, the former has every chance of being weeded out. The exodus from "land" is thus an inevitable necessity of modern economy, says Hainisch.

The chief problem consists in making agriculture a proposition economically worthwhile. The importance of having a large number of people employed in farming belongs, in Hainisch's economic system as in that of many other theorists, Continental and British, to the minimum of sociological postulates. But the labourers will stick to their lands only so long as they are liberally remunerated. Now, higher wages for agricultural labour can become normal phenomena only under conditions of high incomes for farmers. The question of higher prices for agricultural produce becomes automatically a part of this economic ideology. Nor is this all. Logic compels us to bring in the problem of land-values in this theoretical complex. It is a precondition for this system that the land-value should not rise. We are therefore counselled to a comprehensive scheme of agrarian reform such as through legislation would dictate "fair" remuneration in regard to land, wages and prices.

The desired and desirable relations between land-value, wages and prices cannot come through "natural" laws. State intervention is postulated to be an indispensable method in agrarian reform. He is especially in favour of an "agricultural monopoly" to be exercised by the state. And this he considers to be much more worth while, socially speaking, than protection. As soon as a state monopoly is introduced in regard to the goods to be imported, the way is laid open to the fixing not only of prices and wages in connection with the land to be cultivated within the country but the fixing of the land-values as well. The state thus comes to the rescue of agriculture in a national economy by rendering it worth while to all the parties concerned.

1924. The project of a comprehensive law of social assurance (on German-English lines) in France to extend the existing law of 1910, not yet codified.[1]

1926. **Keynes** (1883-). *The End of Laisser Faire* presents a restatement of the proper functions of the state, rejects protectionism, and opposes "socialism" (Marxian). The importance of semi-autonomous associations "lying somewhere between the individual and the state," *e.g.*, Universities, Bank of England, Port of London, and the Railway companies, is recognized. Such associations are embodiments of "sublimated capitalism"—from whose deliberations, motives of private advantage are said to be excluded. The state is (1) to control credit, currency and "cycles," (2) to organize and disseminate statistical information, and (3) to control the growth of population as regards quantity and quality.

1926. **Lauck**, American; *Political and Industrial Democracy* (1776-1926) discusses for America the ideals of a new trade unionism, seeks to introduce on a large, national scale the system of what is known as *Betriebsrat* (works-council) in Central Europe,—an institution such as may offer the workingmen chances of *controlling* the industrial concerns. He would set limits to, and if possible eliminate, "bankocracy" by offering industrial shares for sale to the workingmen and consumers.

1926. Italian law of syndicates. **Bottai**, under-secretary of the ministry of corporations, lectures at Florence on the political and economic trend of this *Carto del Lavoro* (Labour Charter) of the Fascist state.

Syndicalism, as embodied in the associations of workers, first clandestine, then open, but always irregular and outside the law, represents the reaction of the irrepressible human instinct of association in opposition to Liberal and individualistic theories, says he. The Liberal State, reduced to impotence by its own idealism, was forced to tolerate the uncontrolled action of syndicalism both in the ranks of labour and of production, with the result of a terrible waste of productive energies and abolition of every principle of authority.

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[1] Foignet: *Legislation Industrielle*, Paris, 1925.

After the war, the most enlightened politicians in all the countries of the world realised that the old parliamentary conception of the state no longer corresponded to the crying needs of collective life and that new ways must be sought and founded. It was inconceivable that any nation could continue to exist, continually rent by class-strife and gnawed by the cancer of speculation.

The pivot of the new legislation, insisted on by **Mussolini** and elaborated by **Rocco,** is the imposition of juridical discipline on capital and labour as well as on collective labour contracts. This forms the basis of a profound transformation of national life, far beyond what is expressed in the actual legal formulas of the enactment.

In the Fascist state, syndicalism, once an incitement to anarchy and to the dispersion of economic wealth, now becomes a public institution, a state organ, which regulates and guarantees the professional discipline of the different categories of workers and employers, besides educating the popular conscience and encouraging those sentiments of providence and mutual aid that cement human solidarity.

In this new organisation, collective labour contracts made by the autonomous groups of workers and employers, are legally recognised. The state does not intervene to regulate the conditions of these contracts except when there is disagreement between the parties. In that case the appeal is to the labour magistrate whose decision is final and has all the force of law.

The state law on collective labour contracts prescribes penalties for strikes and lock-outs. Strikes and lock-outs can be effectively dealt with through the disciplinary powers conferred upon the syndicalist associations by their own statutes.

National life will be organically disciplined in the highest and most complete way through the working of the corporations which are now declared by law to be organs of the state. The aspiration towards class-collaboration instead of class-strife was never wholly lost sight of even during the worst moments of syndicalist anarchy, but the experiments then attempted which led to the so-called mixed syndicates were bound to fail, as they could not give the necessary guarantees for the autonomy of the working-classes as opposed to their employers.

Only the state can ensure perfect equality of treatment between all classes, for only the state has the power of safeguarding the interests of the workers, when the executive power is restored to its rightful place and ceases to be either the expression of a narrow oligarchy, as it was during the Liberal cycle, or the expression of groups of irresponsible politicians as it became during the more recent Social-Democratic period.

It must not be forgotten that while the syndicates are juridically recognised and empowered to act as the legal representatives of labour legislation, they will only do so within the restricted circle of the specific interests that concern them. The state will still control general legislation on labour questions and will set the limits within which syndicalist powers can act.[1]

1926. **Lavergne.** *L'Ordre Cooperatif* (Cooperative System of Social Organization) : The state or political organization is a vast consumers' society. The whole body of citizens is its members. The goods furnished by this consumers' society are security, liberty and all other rights generally described as rights of man. It is in their capacity as consumers of these immaterial goods that the citizens have a right to control production. Universal suffrage rests therefore on solid foundations. A political philosophy of cooperative order is thus brought into being which, as **Gide** admits, goes further than he has dared. (*Revue d'Economie politique*, Mai-Juin, 1927).

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[1] *Re* the economic ideals and achievements of Fascism (tariff, industrialization, merchant marine, etc.) see the chapters on Italy in Sarkar's *Economic Development* (1926) and *Politics of Boundaries* (1926) ; also Bachi's *L'Italia Economica nel 1921* (Economic Italy in 1921), Citta di Castello, 1922, and Mortara's *Prospettive Economiche* Economic Prospects (1927) Milan, 1927.

1927. **Pigou.** *Industrial Fluctuations.* The free play of self-interest is not strong enough to prompt human beings to take steps by which the social evils involved in " trade cycles " or " economic crisis " may be remedied, *viz.*, to " distribute their demand among different *times* to the best advantage." In regard to the control of these cycles the governments have a great part to play. They are in a position to "transfer orders from good times to bad times " and to lead to a transfer of the demand for labour in the corresponding manner.

Boards of Guardians order so much stores, says he, the Board of Admiralty so many ships, Municipalities so many school and other buildings and so much repair work on roads ; and there is no rigid compulsion on them to order these things at a particular instant.

He endorses the policy initiated by the Prussian ministry of commerce in 1904, which says in part as follows : "If all public administrations, in making their arrangements; would take timely care to choose for such works times in which want of employment is to be expected, the real occurrence of wide-spread want of employment would certainly be prevented in many cases and serious distress warded off." The same policy has been adopted by the Poor Law Commission. The state actions are to be so designed as to " fit the peaks of its own demand into the depressions of the general demand." He supports in this connection **Bowley's** suggestion that the central government should compel the local governments to follow this principle of " transfer from good to bad times " by making or withholding grants, granting or refusing power to borrow and providing capital on easy terms at times when it is desirable on national grounds that public works should be set in hand.

From this standpoint he considers the principles of the British Trade Facilities Act of 1921 (designed as it is to furnish " guarantee " to certain undertakings calculated to promote employment) as well as of the Export Credit Scheme of the same year (by which exporters get a government "guarantee" under certain conditions) to be sound, although practically not very efficacious. But the principle of "bounties" as contrasted with guarantees as embodied in the grants made by the Unemployment Grants Committee of 1923-24 to private undertakings engaged in the construction of gas, water, harbours, tramways, etc., or in the grants for certain export industries advocated by Lord **Balfour** is considered to be beset with practical difficulties although applicable under certain circumstances.

1927. International Economic Conference convened at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations (*cf.* the similar conferences at Brussels, 1920, and Genoa, 1922). It discusses the problems of world-economy with special reference to international trade, industry and agriculture. An important contribution to theory is to be found in *Methods of Economic Rapprochement*, a paper submitted by Professor **Grossmann** of Zurich. He maintains that the industrial and social advantages of large-scale production are to-day militated against by the appearance of new sovereign states, changes in the European boundaries, and nationalistic tariff wars as well as by the institution of customs duties for purely fiscal purposes in order to meet the demands of post-war budgets.

Three methods of international co-operation are being tried at the present moment. In the first place, 180 commercial treaties have been concluded between 1920 and 1926, but most of them extend for less than a year. Secondly, preferential tariffs have been organized between the U. S. and Brazil, between the republics of Central America, and last but not least, between the members of the British Empire. But any attempt to introduce a system of preference between the members of the League of Nations would be tantamount to declaring open economic hostilities with, say, the United States, a great power that is not a member of the League. The third method is the establishment of *Zollvereins* or custom unions. The principle of these unions has been in operation since 1819, but they are the veritable causes of international friction.

The efficacy of these three methods, political as they are, is questioned by Grossmann. He would like to see economic *rapprochement* established by purely "economic" agreements, *e.g.*, on the principles of the Brussels Sugar Convention of 1902. Private industrialists of different nations who are the real competitors are to agree between themselves as to the terms of competition or co-operation. By championing the movement of producers' agreements as an element in the economic and political conciliation of the world he is really arguing for international trusts and cartels.[1]

1927. In September Germany enters upon the third year of reparation payments under the **Dawes** Plan (adopted in 1924),[2] the first year of payment being 1925. In September 1928 will begin the so-called "normal" or "standard" year charged with the annual payment of 2,500,000,000 Marks (one Mark is approximately equal to one shilling) for an indefinite period together with a *Zuschlag* or supplement, of which the amount is to be calculated according to *Wohlstandsindex* (prosperity index).

The Dawes plan embodies a regular and systematic international control over the finance, economic resources and administration of Germany. But according to **Schacht,** president of the Reichsbank, in *Die Stabilisierung der Mark* (The Stabilization of the Mark), Berlin, 1927, it registers the "beginning of a new development" in so far as it has succeeded in erecting a barrier of *wirtschaftlicher Vernunft* (economic reason) against political and military hatred."

Post-war economic reconstruction in Europe is indeed to a great extent to be attributed to the Dawes plan. The industrial recovery of Germany on a sound currency basis, regular reparation payments, the Locarno pact (1925), German loans in England and America, Germany's entrance into the League, currency reforms in different countries (including the talk of introducing the gold bullion standard in India), and the general restoration of confidence in industry and commerce, all these have to be traced to the event of 1924, if not as a cause at least as a starting point.

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[1] On "rationalization" as a new economic category with special reference to cartels and trusts see Sarkar's "Trusts and Rationalization : aspects of the new industrial revolution" *supra.*

[2] Helander : "Zur Theorie der Transferierung" (Towards the Theory of Transfer in Reparation-payments) in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, October, 1924.

The present situation is indicated in the *Memorandum* submitted to the finance minister of Germany by Parker **Gilbert,** Agent General of the Reparations. The *Memorandum* purports really to be criticism of Germany's public finance and foreign loan policy from the standpoint of reparations and international economy. He thinks that the German authorities are developing and executing constantly enlarged programmes of expenditure and borrowing, the effect of which is an artificial stimulus to economic life, causing increased cost of production, increased prices and increased costs of living. These developments will tend to diminish the capacity of the German economy to compete for export and thus pay the reparations.

On the one hand, the effect of foreign borrowing by the *Reich* (Empire) as well as the states and the communes can but lead to increased import. And on the other, the money thus obtained is alleged to be spent not so much on the sorely "needed development of industry and agriculture" but is being absorbed in what may be described as "social" and "national efficiency" items.

To these charges **Koehler,** the finance minister, has replied to the effect that the borrowings by states and municipalities are spent on "public utilities" and are thus "productively" employed. Some of the social and efficiency expenditures are inevitable because of the national troubles engendered by the War. Besides, it is not possible for the *Reich* (Empire) to control too rigidly the internal financial arrangements of the states and the communes at the present time. This would raise constitutional issues of a far-reaching character. On the whole, however, he is in favour of retrenchments and economies to which Schacht as well as the prime minister Marx also have given their approval.

The committee which supervises the applications for permission to negotiate foreign loans has therefore become very critical and stringent. No loans are from now on to be permitted as are not needed for immediate "productive" purposes. Besides, the loans must contribute to the general economic development of the *Reich* (Empire), *e.g.*, by promoting exports. To argue solely that the loans are helpful to some local industry would not be admitted by the committee as a sufficient justification for foreign borrowing.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

THE LOST ROAD

My happiness is forever gone
Since you first found me
Wrapt in the silence of the night
My dreams around me
In that short hour I lost
All worth the craving
Now life is sunless, full of pain
And demons raving.
You said "I love you," lying tongue
Of mild deceit and base device,
I only know through thy false words
I lost the road to Paradise.

LELAND J. BERRY

RANJIT SINGH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

"Ranjit Singh differed from many other great Eastern potentates in his statesmanlike recognition of the strength of the East India Company, the reliance he placed on British promises and his loyalty to his plighted word."[1] This is the traditional estimate of Anglo-Sikh relations during the period 1809-39. We have heard it repeated again and again that the highest proof of Ranjit's statesmanship was his fidelity to the British alliance. Ranjit in the north followed a policy just the reverse of that followed by Hyder Ali in the south. The latter was the life-long enemy, the former the most steadfast friend of the British Government. But the ultimate result was the same in both the cases—absorption of the kingdoms of both within the expanding British Empire. It is time to think over the claim for Ranjit to higher statesmanship based on his steadfast friendship for the British Raj.

The year 1809, the year of the conclusion of the Treaty of Amritsar, marks the definite beginning of Anglo-Sikh friendship. That Treaty confined Ranjit Singh's activities to the right side of the Sutlej, the British Government taking the Cis-Sutlej states under its protection. Thus the English alliance began by depriving Ranjit Singh of one of the most cherished objects of his life,—the ideal of being the sole ruler of all the Sikhs. But it at the same time seemed to give him a *carteblanche* so far as the region to the west of the Sutlej was concerned.

After some doubts and suspicions friendly relations became well-established by 1812 and everything went well up to 1823. During this period the East India Company was too busy with its own affairs, the Sikh Chief with his, and hence there happened nothing of importance to test the strength of the alliance. The British Government was busy curbing the power of the Nepalese, crushing the remnant of the Maratha power, making the Rajput clans tributary ; the Sikh Chief was conquering Multan, Derajet, Kashmir, Peshawar and the hills and plains of the Punjab and reorganising his army. Both were busy elsewhere and naturally the Sutlej continued to give "freshness and beauty to the emblematic garden of their friendship and continued its fertilising way to the ocean separating yet uniting the realms of the two brotherly powers."

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[1] P. E. Roberts, p. 271.

But with the Maratha Confederacy crushed, the position and views of the English Government changed. They became the paramount power in India east of the Punjab and Sindh. As Cunningham aptly puts it, "Ranjit had become master of the Punjab almost unheeded by the English."[1] Conqueror of Multan, Attock, Kashmir, victor of Hydaru, Naoshera, with generals schooled in European wars, with soldiers trained in European fashion and flushed with victories, Ranjit now perturbed the mind of his friends. He was now the most dangerous rival of the British Government in India and his power had to be checked and curbed. This is the key to subsequent history.

First, Ranjit's claim to Ferozpore was disallowed. We need not go into the technicalities of the case. The correspondence between the Government of India and its agents reveal the real reasons. Murray wrote thus : "The Capital Lahore is distant only 40 miles with a single river to cross, fordable for six months in the year. The post of Ferozpore from every point of view seems of the highest importance to the British Government, whether as a check on the growing ambition of Lahore or as a post of consequence."[2] In reply the Government declining the Rani's offer to put the British in possession directed that Ranjit Singh must not be permitted to obtain possession of Ferozpore under any pretence whatsoever. "The Governor-General in Council would by no means be understood to reject altogether the proposition for an exchange but as the measure would doubtless excite alarm and suspicion in the mind of Ranjit Singh and perhaps not unnaturally be objected to by him as an encroachment on our part, the Governor-General in Council does not propose at present to accept the Rani's offer."[1] Ferozpore was, however, occupied in 1835 and in 1838 was made a Military Cantonment.

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[1] Cunningham, p. 180. (Garret's Ed.)

[2] Political Proceedings, 16th August, 1828, No. 3, Extract from Murray's Journal.

Next, between 1827-31 the insurrection at Peshawar led by Syed Ahmed kept Ranjit's energies confined to that quarter. The Syed was indirectly serving the British Government by keeping the restless Sikh Chief under check. When the Syed was slain in 1831, Wade wrote to the Secretary, "The Sikhs having finally achieved the extinction of the Syed, who has afforded employment to their arms for the past five years nearly, are now speculating on the future field of their exploits. Their career has been one of continual warfare and with a large disposable army impatient of repose, His Highness will not be long before he directs his attention to another quarter."[2] The British Government of course gave no help to the Syed direct or indirect but it connived at covert and overt help to him from his own subjects. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi in 1827, wrote thus to the Secretary, "During the period of their recent attack on Ranjit Singh's territories, the most fervent anxiety for their success pervaded the mind of the population of Delhi. Numbers quitted their homes and marched to join them including some who resigned their employment in the Company's service. It is said that the King of Delhi encouraged this spirit. If he did the fact was not forced on my attention."[3]

Free from the Syed Ranjit now turned to Sindh. But the British Government was on the alert, for Ranjit Singh was feeling his way to Sindh for some time. The British now forestalled him there. While the Government and Ranjit Singh were making friends at Rupar, Colonel Pottinger was making his way to Sindh with a Navigation Treaty in his pocket. The Amirs very reluctantly agreed to a treaty that the rivers and roads of Sindh should be open to the "merchants and traders" of Hindusthan. Here, therefore, Ranjit Singh was checked in the guise of "material utilitarianism." But "Ranjit had early seen the beginning of those trading aspirations which by bestowing a power to interfere had led to the absorption of Bengal."[1] Still he yielded on this occasion. But Ranjit recurred to his claims on Shikarpur and his designs on Sindh during the years 1834-36. He was, however, always hesitating. Finally, the determined attitude of the British Government induced him to give up his plans. The Secretary wrote to his agent, "His Lordship in Council cannot but view with regret and disapprobation the prosecution of plans of unprovoked hostilities injurious to the neighbouring states with whom the British Government is connected by ties of interest and goodwill "[2]—the usual argument of the Romans for interference that their friends were not to be molested by strangers. Wade wrote to the Secretary in reply, "Looking to the extent to which he has already committed himself and to the impatience of his character when the gratification of his ambition is concerned, the restraint which my observations will tend to impose on the execution of his designs not only with regard to Shikarpur but other countries regarded by him as a fair field for conquest, is not likely to be palatable and cannot fail to awaken him to the new lines of policy which the British Government is determined to adopt."[3] In spite of the exhortations of his Sardars to the contrary Ranjit yielded once again. In return for this service the British Government extorted from the Amir a very reluctant consent to the admission of a British Resident at Hyderabad in 1838.

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[1] Reply from the Secretary, 30th January, 1824.

[2] Political Proceedings, 17th June, 1831. No. 41, Wade to Secretary.

[3] Political Proceedings, 22nd June, 1827, No. 38.

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[1] Cunningham, p. 193.

[2] Political Proceedings, 22nd August, 1836, No.55.

[3] Political Proceedings, 3rd Oct. 1836, No 24.

Here it may not be out of place to discuss the importance to Ranjit of the acquisition of Sindh. In the first place, it would have enabled him to open communication with other countries free from British control. Next, as Andrew has shown, Sindh and the Punjab are provinces of the Indus as Bengal and Behar are provinces of the Ganges. They easily constitute a section separate from any other part by rivers, mountains, the sea or broad belts of sandy desert. The physical and social characteristics of the two countries are identically the same. Under these circumstances, we cannot but wonder why Ranjit so easily yielded to the British Government. It is his ready acquiescence with the views of the British Government on the Sindh question that enables us to realise how impotent Ranjit was so far as his relations with the British Government were concerned. The situation is not without its humour. Towards the end of the year 1836, Ranjit Singh wanted from the British Government 1,100 muskets and 500 pistols with their equipments complete and the remission of the surcharge. The request was granted. The Secretary wrote, "The long and uninterrupted friendship and particularly the readiness with which His Highness entered into the views of the British Government connected with the Navigation of the Indus entitle him to every consideration."[1] Well might Wade say, "The dread in which he stands of our power may be accepted by us as a sure pledge that he will never suffer himself to oppose the views and wishes of our Government as long as we admit him to a participation of them as friend."[2]

Next, the English also tried to limit Ranjit on the west. As early as November, 1834, Wade wrote, "His Highness believes from the increased interest that we have evinced in the affairs of the Afghans, by the journey of Lt. Burnes into that country and his subsequent correspondence with its chiefs that he hopes to renew his intercourse with them that we are contemplating a political connection with that country."[1] Next in March, 1835, Wade suggests the recognition of Dost Mohammad, intimating the British desire to Ranjit Singh and requesting the Maharaja to be a party to the recognition. So far, the agents were more eager than the Government itself. But in 1837, it was made known that the British Government would be glad to be the means of negotiating a peace honourable to both sides, yet the scale was turned in favour of the Afghans by the simultaneous admission that Peshawar was a place to which Dost Mohammad could hardly be expected to relinquish his claims. Matters would have progressed in this way as in the east and south of the Punjab. But the idle designs and restless intrigues of the Persians and Russians soon caused a modification of plan though by no means a substantial change so far as Ranjit was concerned. The Tripartite Treaty was concluded. Ranjit was an unwilling partner in the scheme. He well understood that he was going to be completely enclosed. But he knew that he would be none the better if he did not join. "Ostensibly Ranjit had reached the summit of his ambition, he was acknowledged to be an arbiter in the fate of that empire which had tyrannised over his peasant forefathers and he was treated with great distinction by the Lord Paramount of India."[2] In reality it was the climax, the most conclusive evidence, of his helplessness and his own consciousness of it. He died before he had heard of the fall of Kandahar, before the British reverses had begun.

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[1] Political Proceedings, 19th Dec. 1836, No. 26.

[2] Political Proceedings, 2nd Dec. 1834, No. 60.

This in brief is an outline of the relations between Ranjit and the British Government. Historians have gone into raptures over Ranjit's insight into the existing state of affairs. Their arguments resolve themselves into one—it is insight into what is and what is not possible that distinguishes a hero from an adventurer. Judged in this light Ranjit is as much superior to Hyder Ali as a statesman to an adventurer. Ranjit once said, "I might perhaps drive the British (Ungrez Bahadur) as far as Allyghur but I should be driven back across the Sutlej and out of my kingdom."[1] Hyder Ali, on his death-bed, admitting his failure said, "I might perhaps drive the British out of land but I cannot dry up the sea." Ranjit understood quite early what Hyder Ali learnt only too late. All that can be claimed for Ranjit on this point is clear-sightedness. But this brings us to another point. Ranjit himself could see clearly enough that his own kingdom would ere long be absorbed within the octopus of British Imperialism. The logic of events was enough to convince him. He himself is once said to have remarked, "Sab lal ho jayega." But then what steps did he take to prevent this calamity ?

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Cunningham, p. 221.

Let us speculate as to what he could have done if he had lived to hear of the disasters of the British in Kabul campaign. M'Gregor, however, says in this connection: "Had Ranjit survived to witness English disasters in Kabul, he would readily have discerned that they arose entirely from local circumstances and in no way deteriorates from English prowess." But there is evidence to prove that things might have been different. In 1837 Ranjit Singh was already making friends with the Nepalese Government. A Nepalese mission arrived in his Court. It was cordially received and this cordial reception marks a strong contrast to that given to the communications of the Nepalese before. In the British opinion such an intercourse was inconsistent with British interests. Other states might follow the example of the Nepalese. Wade wrote to the Secretary, "Ranjit Singh has hitherto derived nothing but advantage from his alliance with us. While we have engaged in consolidating our power in Hindusthan, he has been extending his conquests throughout the Punjab and across the Indus and as we are now beginning to prescribe limits to his power, which cannot be supposed he should regard with complacency, he is now more likely to encourage than withdraw from alliances which may hold out to him a hope of creating a balance of power." [1] This cordial reception of the Nepalese mission is as yet the only thing on which we are to stand if we conclude that if Ranjit Singh had been at the helm of affairs in the Punjab at the time of the disasters of the British Government in Afghanistan, he would have taken advantage of the shock to British prestige, the discontent of the Gwalior army and the readiness of the protected states to warn the English.

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[1] M'Gregor, Part II.

But leaving aside the "had been" let us judge him as we find him. Ranjit is the Massinissa of British Indian History. Massinissa created a state out of scattered elements only to be absorbed within the expanding Roman Empire not long after his death. Ranjit also created a state out of scattered elements only that it might be absorbed within the expanding British Empire not long after his death. Both could create but none could preserve and both had presentiments at the time of their death that theirs would not endure.

What could Ranjit Singh have done? In his relations with the British Government in the last decade of his career, Ranjit is a pathetic figure, helpless and inert. But an alternative to the policy pursued by him, an alternative that would have been crowned with success, is not possible to suggest. The English were too strong even for a nation of warriors like the Sikhs. Ranjit had made his kingdom too powerful to be left alone. Only another Patiala or Jhind would have been tolerated. But from our national point of view, Ranjit, in his relations with the British Government, if superior to the contemporary underlings of the British power in India, does not appear great by any means. He had not even the energy of despair. He compares unfavourably even with Mir Kashim. War with the British Government would have come sooner or later. Instead of postponing it to some future period, he could have boldly met the

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[1] Pol. Proceedings, 20th October 1837, No. 61.

British demands with regard to Sindh, if necessary by declaring war, though that would have been at that time, as it proved subsequently, a hopeless war. But he chose an alternative which was also an impossible one—that of conciliating an advancing, aggressive power, which certainly could not look with equanimity on the military structure he had raised. Perhaps with the characteristic inherent in all builders he feared to expose the kingdom he had created to the risks of war and instead chose the policy of yielding, yielding and yielding.

NARENDRAKRISHNA SINHA

DESIRE

The splendour of the sun doth tell
Thy greatness to a star,
The moon steps from her fairy dell
Revealing thy great power.
And crimson roses, jasmines white
Discover that thou art,
All nature's beauty mantled bright
Proclaims thy living art!
Yet 'tis thy pleasure they thro' me
Should judge thee last;
My life, my deeds should mirror thee
When other things are past.
O! with thy glory let me shine,
Illume me with Love's fire:
May I not caricature thine
Image, is my desire!

CYRIL MODAK

ON MODERNISING SPINOZA

I

Writing in the sixties of the last century, Matthew Arnold in his essay on Spinoza observed that the man and his work "bid fair to become what they deserve to become in the history of modern philosophy, the central point of interest." Perhaps herein he overshot the mark, surpassing all his foregoing and contemporary English admirers of Spinoza—Coleridge and Wordsworth, F. D. Maurice and J. A. Froude, and in fact the entire galaxy of thinkers of the same persuasion, *viz.*, Rationalism in general and Liberalism in Theology. That revival of Spinozism was undoubtedly the sign of the times; nevertheless, making due allowances for the extravagances of enthusiasm of one sponsoring what he thinks to be a forlorn cause, Arnold's prediction may be said to be on a fair way to fulfilment in a more modern age than that of his own. The verdict of the preceding century is at least unmistakably clear from the utterance of two typical thinkers of the period: 'the pious Bishop' Berkeley, blest with 'every virtue under heaven,' classing him as one of the 'weak and wicked writers' and even David Hume, 'the terrible David' of the 'Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion' referring to "all those sentiments for which Spinoza is universally infamous." The turn in the tide that has set in ever since in the way of due recognition of the man and his work does not surely entitle us to endorse the view that they have, or will soon become, '*the* central point of interest'—except in the sense of a danger-signal on the way of a philosophic 'Pilgrim's progress.' This is perhaps what Heine, the German poet of Jewish descent, sought to convey by the saving clause in the more cautious compliment he paid to Spinoza, coupling with as much truth as wit, an allusion to Spinoza's means of livelihood with the widespread influence he exerted upon his philosophic successors. "All our modern philosophers," as he put it, "though often perhaps unconsciously see through the glasses which Baruch Spinoza ground." The qualifying phrase far from stultifying a genuine admiration might conceivably refer with scrupulous regard for truth to the precarious privilege of one who 'by merit raised to bad eminence,' came in, during his lifetime, and for a long time after his death, for nothing but organised denunciation and tyranny, not to speak of the undisguised panic and horror with which people would receive this veritable *enfant terrible.* In life condemned to a perpetual seclusion, he was pursued after death with unabated and relentless fury by the dignitaries of the Church who, we are told, visited his grave only to spit upon it! Before such acts of graceless sacrilege whose enormity is the more heightened when committed by the professed apostles of Grace in the good faith that they were thereby doing God service, one is naturally pulled up and led either to suspect the *bonafides* of these people, and exclaim in cynical despair with Swift, "Some people have just enough religion to make them hate one another, not enough to make them love one another," or to subscribe readily to Professor Whitehead's dictum that 'Religion is the last refuge of human savagery.'[1] Here, as elsewhere, such judgment, however, having 'the native hue of resolution' is unredeemed by that cast of thought which seldom fails to distinguish between the timeless essence of a thing and its historical accident. Unless due regard be paid to this fact, there is inevitable that mental outlook which, through sheer loss of perspective, commits the pernicious fallacy of identifying the means with the end, the instrument with the agent, the servant with the master—a fallacy which has proved in the flight of ages the prolific source of untold human misery in the form of the so-called religious persecution and intolerance. With this mental alertness it is not at all difficult to discern that the ecclesiastical tyranny of Spinoza emanated from a quarter that was by nature and nurture incapable of looking ahead of the Pontifical authority which had, to all intents and purposes, usurped the name of the Divine. "The ban against Spinoza," as one latter-day critic rightly observed, "was the due paid to Caesar rather than to the God of Israel."

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[1] 'Religion in the Making,' p. 3'.

It was the bi-centenary address of Renan entitled 'Spinoza 1677 and 1877' (delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument at the Hague on the 21st of February, 1877) that marked an epoch in the growing recognition of his dues. The very words of the oration were in respect of their bold and penetrative appeal, symptomatic of the change that had been going on silently, but unerringly, during the two centuries, and in view of the pledge contained therein, they were prophetic of further advance in the direction of redressing the wrongs done to that great thinker. In pointed reference, as it were, to the inhumanly outrageous treatment accorded to Spinoza by the Calvinistic clergy in their frenzied zeal, Renan in a subdued tone of indignation held forth: "Woe to him, who, in passing, should hurl an insult at this gentle and pensive head! He would be punished as all vulgar souls are punished, by his very vulgarity, and by his incapacity to feel what is divine. From his granite pedestal Spinoza will teach us all to follow the way which he found to happiness, and, centuries hence, men of learning, crossing the Paviljonensgracht, will say to themselves,"—and then pointing with peculiar dramatic effect to the windows of Spinoza's humble dwelling,—rounded up his peroration with the memorable words: "It is perhaps from this spot that God was most nearly seen" ("C'*est d'ici peut-étre que Dieu a été vu de plus prés*"). No greater tribute could be paid to the memory of a 'godless,' ex-communicated Jew, and no more nobly could it be expressed! Through what long process of self-discipline and education humanity must pass before it can come to its own and learn to assess a thing at its proper worth, we do not pretend to divine, That a hymn of unrelenting hate, with which Spinoza would be pursued in life and even after death, could be thus transformed into a hymn of atoning love, that his resting-place in life and death, which would always be something for the finger of scorn to point at, could conceivably develop into what one might, with strict justice, call a place of pilgrimage, is a phenomenon that might reasonably enough give us pause to think, perchance to go the length of hazarding, with Browning, the paradox that "hate is but a mask of love's." But marvel, as we may, and explain by having recourse to the hypothesis of sub-conscious operations of the mind of the race, of immanent workings of a Power not ourselves, or even of 'the labour of Idea' and of the great men being in advance of their time, the fact remains that such episodes in the history of humanity, by no means unusual or infrequent, furnish an ironic commentary on the uses the world makes of its great men, who have been, from the very dawn of history, condemned to drink the hemlock or burnt at the stake, or pilloried to infamy in one age, and commemorated with undying sepulchres in the very next.

The posthumous recognition, which has been the lot of all such great men, did not, however, come in Spinoza's case a moment too soon. Since the bi-centenary celebration, the increasing interest in Spinozism has kept steadily on its course, which the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death, which came off on February 21 of this year 1927, clearly revealed by bringing to a focus the advance which has hitherto been made in Spinoza scholarship. Such ceremonial occasions, though supremely valuable, nay indispensable in their own way, have their own besetting dangers which are by no means imaginary. In connection with recent Spinoza commemorations one had occasion to notice some dissertations on Spinoza marred by glaring historical anachronisms, unconscious reading of present-day thoughts into Spinoza's system or even conscious adaptation of it to modern thought, and a few others marked by a tendency to simplification or popularisation beyond the reasonable limits of academic tradition—a tendency which, confident of its success in catering to popular craving for cheap, claptrap production in *belles-lettres*, is unhappily gaining ground in the domain of hard sustained thinking. The determination to do without academic tradition may be a sign of the times—of sitting loose to all kinds of tradition, academic or otherwise,—and may even be not without an historical justification; but then one has always to mount guard against that 'vaulting ambition which overleaps itself and falls on the other side.' The meticulous care with which some have tortured and twisted the texts of Spinoza in order to bring Spinozism into line with present-day types of thought would much rather bear testimony to an unconscious arrogance in such procedure than confess to the humility which is germane to a tribute of respectful memory. It is Hegel, than whom there was probably no more unsparing critic of Spinoza, who has pointed the way to true veneration without its sinister accompaniments, when he said that "thought must begin by placing itself at the standpoint of Spinozism; to be a follower of Spinoza is the essential commencement of all Philosophy......when man begins to philosophize, the soul must commence by bathing in this ether of the One Substance, in which all that man has held as true has disappeared." Such ungrudging recognition of the merit of Spinozism, coming as it does from an avowed opponent, makes it the more valuable; and is in effect one hardly surpassed by effusions of some of the latter-day enthusiasts of Spinoza. It is a mere commonplace to assert that the best, and presumably the only way to appraise or appreciate, to criticise or venerate the contributions of a great mind, is not by looking at it *ab extra*, but *ab intra*, from the inside as it were, in so-called intellectual sympathy with the standpoint of the thinker in question. In so doing we must undoubtedly have to face after him his doubts and difficulties, and to trace with renewed wonder his explanation and solution of the age-long problems of life and existence. So initiated one can hope to discover the true greatness of Spinozism and to what extent it does 'succeed in that it seems to fail'; and this discovery, be it remembered, is not within the easy reach of those who begin by adopting a policy of pick-and-choose, of tinkering and twisting, of pruning and patching, with regard to the system as a whole. In an age in which the epithet 'plain' figures as an euphemism for 'ugly,' it is no wonder that the plain, unvarnished, historical method which has nothing striking or spectacular about it must pine in the cold shade of neglect, and make room for that heroic, impassioned, unhistorical one which by catering to the popular craze for novelty and romance, produces the desired stage-effect, and thus wins the day. Whatever charms such method may possess in other fields it seldom rises equal to its task in the sphere of philosophical thinking. Looking, as it habitually does, through the haze of affection or through the distorted medium of one's own cherished fancies and opinions, it is not least calculated to the ends either of love or knowledge. It fails to appreciate that a plain, unvarnished, unromantic tale, which is perhaps the best ministration to love, is also the best service that one can render to the memory of a great thinker.

From Matthew Arnold's impassioned utterance on Spinoza to Professor Lloyd Morgan's latest watchword 'Back to Spinoza'[1] is, however, a far cry. Without committing ourselves at this stage to an advance statement on the merits of Professor Lloyd Morgan's use of Spinoza, we may with advantage turn to the qualifying phrase by which he punctuates his remarks. To quote his very words: "When I say: Back to Spinoza, I mean: Back to the foundations laid by Spinoza on which may be built a new superstructure that incorporates a concept of evolution unknown in his day."[2] Is it not simply a faithful carrying out of the recipe prescribed by Hegel to all future reconstruction of philosophy? The quotation from Professor Lloyd Morgan serves at least to indicate which way the wind blows, and how the present-day resurrection of Spinozism is on the way to regaining that lost equilibrium in philosophy, which is the cry of many but prize of the few.

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[1] In 'Life, Mind and Spirit' the second course of Gifford Lectures

[2] *Ibid*, p. 26.

We now propose to deal at greater length with a much more ambitious, extensive, and perhaps, extravagant adaptation of Spinoza's philosophy which, under the title of "Spinoza and Time" [1] was worked out by Professor Alexander, who is unquestionably one of the worthiest shoulders whereon the mantle of Spinoza could fall.

Although not inspired by this year's 1927 anniversary celebrations, the dissertation in question professedly embodies the spirit of a memorial service, and in presumed accord therewith, proceeds upon 'the avowedly unhistorical method of using Spinoza to an end which the historic Spinoza would not have entertained,' [2] in the good faith 'that veneration is not the same thing as idolatary' [3] and that a great man may be, verily, as was a custom to Hamlet; 'more honoured by divergence than by obedience.' [4] As a question of principle it is probably sound and unimpeachable; but on circumstanial evidence, one has reasons to believe that Professor Alexander has not, in spite of himself, been able to redeem the pledge of veneration in the execution of his task—a task, which is, like drawing the bow of Ulysses by lesser hands, attended with grave peril. Possessing as he does the highest credentials for this bold undertaking, there is nothing *prima facie* to disqualify him from embarking upon this perilous adventure of studied divergence; but, before following him out in this somewhat uncharted voyage of discovery, one cannot help asking with the characteristic, but none the less philosophic *naivete* of 'little Peterkin'; *cui bono?* Although there is no reason to suspect his *bonafides*, his remark, *viz.* "as for Spnoza himself, it is too late a day to express unbounded admiration,"[1]—admittedly well-meaning in its transparent sincerity,—when taken by itself, may not unjustly, by force of contextual criticism, lend itself to the ready, but perhaps uncharitable, construction : 'it is too late a day to express unbounded admiration'[2] 'for Spinoza himself'. unless one be 'more concerned with the gloss than with the text.'[3] Here the *modus operandi*, when carefully analysed, will be found traceable to an irrepressible desire to keep abreast of time, to be, what in popular parlance we call, "up-to-date." Whether this is also to be viewed as an earnest of what Professor Alexander, in evident sympathy with M. Bergson, calls the happy determination 'to take time seriously,'[4] it is more than we can affirm. Nevertheless, the solicitude he shows for the gloss leaves little room for doubt as to his unacknowledged conviction that an unglossed review of Spinoza will not be heterodox, sensational, or romantic enough to engage our attention, in spite of his formal acknowledgment of 'the greatest admiration for those who bring both historical research and the most sympathetic philosophical insight'[5] to bear on 'the only satisfactory and respectful method of understanding a philosopher.'[6] The modest confession that this method of historical scholarship is beyond his competence can possibly give him no immunity from the suspicion of which he has himself provided the occasion by breaking away from this only 'respectful method of understanding a philosopher.' The same 'natural piety' with which probably Wordsworth had inspired him might as well have imparted the salutary lesson that even a romantic admiration of Spinoza had 'no need of a remoter charm by a gloss supplied, and of an interest 'unborrowed from the eye.' One who cannot thus admire, although looking through the glasses, ground by Spinoza, would be, to adopt Carlyle's phraseology in another reference, "but a pair of spectacles behind which there is no eye."

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[1] Being the fourth "Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture" delivered before the Jewish Historical Society at University College.

[2] *Spinoza and Time*, p. 79. Hereinafter called S. and T.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 80.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 80.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 80.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 80.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 80.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 19.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 19.

Before entering upon a detailed examination of Professor Alexander's studied divergences in the interpretation of Spinoza and of his claim to have discovered in Time the panacea of all the chronic distempers of Spinozism, it would be not unfair to comment in the most general terms on the plausibility of the proposed improvement in the understanding of Spinoza. In the first place, the juxtaposition of 'Spinoza and Time' is, even to the most casual reader of Spinoza, a glaring instance of a forced collocation. Alas! for one born to the front rank of those 'spectators of all time and existence,' long since immortalised by Plato, to be dragged into the questionable company of Time. There can be no sadder tragedy than to witness the celestial Pegasus harnessed to a wheeled waggon of earth; and no greater disservice to the memory of Spinoza than to contrive an unhappy union between one in tune with the Universe *sub specie æternitatis* and the other immersed therein *sub specie temporis*. It requires no undue stretch of imagination to realise how Spinoza himself would view the proposal. The shades of Spinoza would not at least look kindly upon such a preposterous offer, but would probably exclaim on the contrary, under the pressure of this embarrassing charity, "Defend me from my friends; I can defend myself from my enemies." Not unaware beforehand of 'the most important consequences which would follow from the substitution of Time for thought in the Spinozistic attributes,' [1] Professor Alexander proceeds, with that unquestionable 'veneration' which 'is not the same thing as idolatry,' to try 'upon the system of a great philosopher the effects of a hypothesis,' [2] and to record eventually 'what difference it would make to Spinoza's philosophy if we assign to Time a position not allowed to it by Spinoza himself.' [3] Well, the difference in effect would be no more and no less than what made Peter Quince, the carpenter in 'A Mid-summer Night's Dream,' exclaim at the sight of the metamorphosed weaver: "Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated." Indeed, it is to be seriously questioned if in certifying that 'Time displaces Thought in the Spinozistic scheme,[1] Professor Alexander has not made too ready a use of, and put too high a premium on, the 'discovery of Time'[2] which has proved, to quote his verdict *ex cathedra*, 'the most characteristic feature of the thought of the last twenty-five years.'[3] In formulating the conception of Space-Time or Motion 'as the stuff of the Universe,'[4] he does consciously take his departure from the theory of relativity on the score of its being 'a physical and not a metaphysical theory.'[5] The departure was not, perhaps, well advised; for whatever goes beyond Physics may not always have the right of access to metaphysics but have to stop at a half-way house between the two; and this is so because the interpretation in question is, on the one hand catholic or romantic enough for Physics, and, on the other, too crude and departmental for Metaphysics. Time was, when Physics had to beware of Metaphysics, but in view of the indecent haste and the extravagant charity with which it has been the fashion in some quarters of present-day philosophical thinking to court the categories of the special sciences, it is to be asked if it were not high time to sound the warning: 'Metaphysics! beware of Physics!' Such coquetting of Metaphysics with Physics conduces to the lasting benefit of neither, but ends, as it must needs end, in that unhappy breach between the two which means, as it has done in the past, the sterilization of the philosophic *Eros*. What is, therefore, useful, timely, and in fact the supreme need of the hour, is a 'Defence of Philosophic Doubt,' an 'academic skepticism' or a Baconian caution against 'Idola Fori' before the encroaching advance of the new-fangled categories of the special sciences threatening in the end to swamp the field of metaphysics. The enthusiasts of progress in philosophical research probably proceed upon the example of the early bird that invariably catches the worm ; but what they obviously forget is that herein ‘ they also serve who only stand and wait.’ The instructive errors of the past on the pathway of progress should awaken us to the home-truth that *festina lente* is always the secret and dynamic of all progress. The want of patient circumspection and immanent criticism engenders, finally, that loss of perspective on the part of metaphysics—in the face of new heights gained in the domain of the special sciences—which has famous precedents in the history of philosophical thought. Dazzled by the glamour of a new discovery in these sciences, metaphysicians of a particular type have not infrequently been seduced into a cosmic expansion and consequent falsification of a principle whose meaning and efficiency lay in its limited application. Like the son of Kish out in search after his father's asses, and eventually founding a kingdom, the innocent and simple time-axis, out to demonstrate its necessity over and above the already known three axes of coordinates in mathematical physics, has in some quarters acquired a foundational importance, not at all sought for but thrust upon it. No one is ostensibly more mindful of the need of perspectives in philosophy than Professor Alexander himself; but when he lays down in all seriousness the proposition that "the ultimate reality is Space-Time, the stuff out of which by various distributions all things arise,"[1] including God or rather his divinity that is "contained within it,"[2] he slips into precisely the same vicious snare as we are here referring to. Indeed this is simply a variant of the same thesis which he announced long ago (as early as in a paper read to the British Academy in January, 1914) and has thenceforward defended, with a peculiar persuasiveness in his remarkable Gifford Lectures and other writings, *viz.*, "that there is only one matrix from which all qualities arise." Herein he seems to be hearkening back, and giving a fresh lease of existence, to the same ‘natural piety’ as prompted Tyndall, in his celebrated Belfast address of 1874, to make the well-known statement that he had discerned in matter ‘the promise and potency of all terrestrial Life,’—an apotheosis, as Coleridge not inaptly remarked, “of a something-nothing-everything which does all of which we know.” In respect of an undeniable functional affinity, a still more remote ancestor of Alexander’s space-time may be not inaptly traced in Anaximander’s *απειρον* or *αοριστον* as the *αρχη* of the universe. We need not follow out the eventful history, through which this problem of the One and the Many has passed, from its remotest antiquity down to the present time; but when our author makes the interesting discovery that ‘Reality is Space-Time or Motion itself’ [1] ‘and in virtue of this unceasing movement it strikes out fresh complexes of movements, created things,’ [2] ‘this striving of Space-Time and of the world of things heretofore precipitated from that matrix’ [3] being termed ‘*nisus*,’ we seem to hear the voice of Leukippos and Democritos with their theories of vortex and *αναγκη*′. The advance thus marked by Greek atomism on preceding philosophy in the way of a cosmogonic explanation compares not unfavourably with that claimed by Space-Time which as ‘an experiential absolute’, to quote the very words of our author, “takes for us the place of what is called the Absolute in idealistic systems.”[4] Inspite of his formal protestation that ‘the One is the system of the Many in which they are conserved, not the vortex in which they are engulfed’ [5] we are treated here, so it seems, to a revised and expurgated edition of the Lucretian ‘*De rerum natura.*’ The proposal to substitute Space-Time or Motion’ for the orthodox ‘*Deus sive natura*’ is but the typically modern version of that changed outlook in the history of Greek

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 79.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 79.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 20.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 46.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 39.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 39.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 70.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 70.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 39.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 42.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 72.

[4] Space, Time and the Deity, Vol. I, p. 346.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 347.

thought which drew forth from Aristophanes the classic satire that 'Zeus was no more but Vortex was placed on the throne'!

Here, exactly, lies the danger-zone of the modernist upheaval. To bring metaphysics into line with Science is unquestionably a move in the right direction, but to set up, in the name of metaphysics, absolute claims on behalf of any of the special sciences is a monstrous aberration, and insidious snare for philosophical thought. Specifically speaking, the ensnaring vice of this craze of modernism is just this uncritical and generalised use of concepts, torn out of their specialized contexts, and applied on a much too generous scale—concepts like 'Life,' 'Activity' or 'Fact.' These are; as Professor Bosanquet rightly reminds us, 'dangerous immediates,' and probably *ignes fatui* on the path of 'the philosophic Pilgrim's Progress.' Then again, there is the notion of 'Progress,' 'Development' or 'Evolution'—'Creative,' 'Emergent' and what not—with an *élan* or *nisus* towards all development, embedded in, and exhibited throughout the scale of Being in different grades of perfection, up to the limiting notion of a finite, struggling Deity.

These are more or less the very appliances which Professor Alexander makes use of as a lever to raise Spinozism from the supposed lumber-room of antiquated thought-types. But Spinoza, it must be remembered, stands in need of no such label of modernism. In point of fact, he is much more 'modern' in the honorific sense of the term than many of the *soi-disant* modernists, who are hopelessly behind date in their outlook. When Spinoza presented a copy of his *Tractus Theologico-Politicus* to Leibnitz by way of reciprocating the compliment the latter had paid to him by presenting his own "Progress of Optics," Leibnitz is said to have characterised the book as "an unbearable free-thinking book." The verdict is a typical one, and furnishes the ablest commentary on the free thinking of the century. True it is, that on the thorny question of equal rights of 'votes for women,' Spinoza does affirm that 'women have not by nature an equal right with men, but must needs give place to them.' But, as one present-day writer on Spinoza has truly remarked, Spinoza was much more 'modern' in the very raising of this question than many so-called moderns. Thus on a question of contemporary interest the cloistered philosopher has, by giving his most anxious, philosophic consideration, set the example which might, with advantage, be emulated by many publicists of to-day who, not infrequently, brush aside this question in Olympic indifference, as hardly meriting one's serious consideration. Then, again, in view of the present-day recrudescence of theosophic mysticism, and the increasing interest among philosophers in the alleged facts of 'telepathic communication' or 'mediumistic deliverances' and the like, it is most opportune and no less profitable to refresh our memory with Spinoza's reading of the whole situation. In reply to a rather crudely expressed query as to his opinion concerning 'apparitions, and ghosts or goblins,' by one of his admirers, Spinoza thus combated the still lingering trail of mediævalism that was running through the centuries :—"The authority of Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates does not count for much with me. I should have been surprised if you had cited Epicurus, Democritus, Lucretius or any of the Atomic school. For it is nothing strange that the inventors of occult qualities, intentional species, substantial forms, and a thousand other varieties, should have also devised goblins and ghosts, and given credence to old wives, in order to destroy Democritus's reputation, whose good name they so envied that they burnt all the books he had published with so much renown."

(To be continued.)

SAROJKUMAR DAS

MUKUNDARAM AND OTHER POETS OF THE CHANDI-CULT

Religion has been the inspiring force and the motive power of our old poetry with the exception of some of the Ballads of the Eastern Districts which mainly deal with secular love. The growth and development of the poems of the Mother-cult in Bengal are due to the religious inspiration given by the Brahminic revival. The temple-compound has ever since been the centre of all our poetical activities. Poet after poet has sung of the glories of his favourite deity, actuated by a spirit of competition to excel his predecessors or meet the exigencies of some religious occasion. Thus when one poet had sung a song which amused the audience and inspired them with devotional fervour during the three or four days of worship, the next poet in the succeeding year attempted to excel his work based on the materials supplied by earlier poems. Thus gradually each god and goddess had a number of poet-devotees who sought the aid of the Muse to compose a song to be sung in the temple-yard. This process went on till a high-water mark of success was reached by the last gifted poet who scaled a height inaccessible to others, and thus his poem became the crowning piece of a sacred song sung on the *pujah* occasion, having reached an unapproachable standard of excellence.

Thus, as in the case of the cult of Manasa Devi, Lakshmi Devi and others—the Chandi-cult started from small and crude beginnings in the hymns, praises and episodes connected with her worship till the highest point of success was reached by Mukundaram. Even after Mukundaram some of the poets attempted to compose poems in honour of Chandi but such attempts were futile as they could not match the performance of the great poet of Damunya. To the credit of Jaynarayan, another poet, it should be said that his poem on Chandi Devi written in the middle of the 18th century is remarkable for its ornate style and other literary merits though it is by no means a match for the immortal poem of Mukundaram.

It should be observed that the subjects dealt in Markandeya-Chandi and Mangal-Chandi are based on entirely different materials. The former is a Pauranic tale composed about the 2nd century A.D., in which we find mention of the Cheta dynasty to which the monarch Khārabela of the Hāthigumphā inscription belonged. The mention of the Mauryas amongst the soldiers of the Daitya kings Sumbha and Nisumbha, also lead to the same conclusion about the date of the poem. Mangal-Chandi is a rural deity of hoary antiquity and owes nothing to classical inspiration. The story of Mangal-Chandi seems to be based on the two Puranas, *e.g.*, Brahmavaivarta and Virhatdharma. From the 34th Chapter of the former we learn, among other things, that it was the god Dharma who first brought to the world the worship of Mangal-Chandi. In the 16th Chapter of the Uttar Khanda of the latter Purana we find references to the stories of Kalketu and Dhanapati. But after all such mention of the stories may be a later interpolation as it was found in a single manuscript of the poem about 200 years old and is not borne out by any other evidence.

That the Mother-cult belongs to the hoary past may be gleaned from the history of various ancient nations. In Egypt the goddess Isis, in Assyria the goddess Ishtar, in Rome the goddess Anna Perenna are cases in point. In Crete an ancient goddess with a lion on either side was discovered sometime ago by Dr. Evans. This image is believed to belong to 3000 B.C. Even within India the Mother-cult comes down from a very ancient time. Thus the time-honoured worship of Koltevai among the Tamils in Southern India led Vincent Smith to attempt to identify her with the goddess Durga. The aboriginal tribe of the Sabaras worshipped a goddess Parna-Sabari or Vindhya-Vāsini by name. In the Vedic period we get the name of Rātri Devi or Kāli [1] and find mention of her worship. In the Vājasaneyi Samhitā we get the name of Ambikā. She was represented as the sister of Rudra as Isis is of Osiris of Egypt. In the Hiranaykesi Grihyasutra the name of Bhawani is found. The name of Bhadra-Kāli is likewise found in Sānkhayna Grihyasutra. The goddess Aṣṭa-Bhujā was worshipped with much *eclat* in various parts of India in the 8th and 9th centuries. At the village of Prambanam in Bali several images of the deity of this period have been found. In Bengal and Orissa such images are numerous. Thus, traces of the worship of the Mother are found in various parts of the world and in India in particular, from very early times. Instances may be multiplied but there is no need of doing so.

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[1] Rig-Veda, 10th Mandal, 2-3, 127th Sukta.

It is well-known that the Mother in a variety of aspects kindred to Hindu conception was worshipped by the Mādhyamic sect of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The familiar deity Prajnā-Pāramitā is one of these. Mr. Charuchandra Bandyōpadhyay has drawn attention to a passage in Manik Datta's Chandikavya which shows that the speculative theory of creation of the later Buddhists or the Dharma worshippers has an important bearing on a similar theory, propounded by the devotees of the Chandi-cult of Bengal. The episode of Chandi's swallowing an elephant according to him is taken from Buddhistic speculation and the words *Sunya* or the void, Adya, Dharma and Uluka and their associations with lotus and elephant clearly indicate the analogous situation.

The earliest poet on Mangal-Chandi yet known to us was Manik Datta who flourished probably in the 13th century. If Dwija Janardana flourished in the same century it is probable that his diction was changed by some later poet, for in spite of the conciseness of his poem it shows almost perfection of the 'Payār' metre which we cannot expect in the 13th century. The earliest works dedicated to Mangal-Chandi were short but they gradually developed at the hands of later writers and became so elaborate that it took eight nights to be sung—a fact mentioned in Chaitanya Bhāgavata, accounting for the designation of "Aṣṭamangalā" that the poem has since borne.

We may mention the following poets of Chandi-cult besides (*i*) Manik Datta and (*ii*) Dwija Janardana :—

(*iii*) Madan Datta.
(*iv*) Muktaram Sen (poet of Sarada-mangal, written in 1547 A.D.).
(*v*) Devidas Sen.
(*vi*) Sivanarayan Dev.
(*vii*) Kirtichandra Das.
(*viii*) Balaram Kavikankan.
(*ix*) Madhavacharyya (who wrote his poem Jāgaran in 1579 A.D.).
(*x*) Dwija Hariram (who probably wrote before Mukundaram).
(*xi*) Mukundaram Kavikankan (completed his Chandikavya in 1589 A.D.).
(*xii*) Jaynarayan Sen (who wrote his poem about 1763 A.D.).
(*xiii*) Bhabanisankar Das (poem written in 1779 A.D.).
(*xiv*) Sivacharan Sen (a contemporary of Jaynarayan).

The poet (fourth in our list) Muktaram Sen wrote in a Sanskritic style of which a typical illustration is furnished by his description of Kalidaha where the merchant Dhanapati and his son Srimanta saw a goddess devouring an elephant.

The most famous poet on Mangal-Chandi was Kavikankan Mukundaram. We find another Kavikankan in the list of Mangal-Chandi poets. He was Balaram Kavikankan. Tradition says that Mukundaram drew his inspiration from this Balaram Kavikankan who was latterly cast into the shade by the splendour of Kavikankan Mukundaram's fame.[1] This tradition is supported by a line in one of the manuscripts of

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[1] Sahitya-Parishat Patrikā, p. 110, Srāvan, 1302 B. S.

Kavikankan-Chandi— "গীতের গুরু বন্দিলাম শ্রীকবিকঙ্কণ"—(I bow to my predecessor and song-master Kavikankan).

The materials on which Madhavacharyya based his poem show a striking analogy with those of Chandikavya by Mukundaram. It is certain they drew from the same source. It is not likely that Mukundaram directly owed anything to Madhavacharyya. Madhava wrote his poem in 1579 A. D. and Mukundaram finished his work in 1589 A.D. Though, therefore, the former is the earlier poet, yet considering the distance of the localities[1] inhabited by the two poets and the shortness of the interval in which the poems were written, it does not seem probable that Mukundaram was aware of the existence of Madhava's work. The striking agreement between the two poems is due to the fact that many poems on Chandi dealing with the same episodes had already been written in Bengal; and her very atmosphere was charged with the music and spirit of those poems, so that any poet who handled the subject in later times found abundant materials at his disposal, which account for the agreement in subject and language in the different poems.

But still the works of Madhavacharyya and Mukundaram are so full of similarities and analogous matter, that a passing review based on a comparative study of both may not be out of place here.

In the preliminary hymns of Madhavacharyya, we do not find any mention of Chaitanya. Kavikankan Mukundaram lays great stress on the great apostle. It is evident Chaitanya's influence had not yet spread so far as the locality of Madhavacharyya.

The story of the death of a demon named Mangal described in Madhavacharyya's poem is not found in the work of Mukundaram. Madhavacharyya tells us that the name Mangal-

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[1] Madhavacharyya was born at the village of Nyānpur (now Gossainpur, by the side of the river Meghna). Mukundaram was born at the village of Damunya (District Burdwan).

Chandi originated with the killing of a demon named Mangal by Chandi at the request of the gods, unlike the story of the Brahmavaivarta Purana which gives a different version.

A noticeable digression of Mukundaram from Madhavacharyya lies in the delineation of the character of the money-lender of the Kalketu story. We do not find any character like that of Murāri Sil in Madhavacharyya's poem. He briefly describes the character of one Soma Datta, an honest fellow, in the place of Murāri Sil, the typical knave of Mukundaram.

But both the poets describe in vivid colours the typical rogue Bhāru Datta of the Kalketu story. Perhaps Bhāru Datta of Madhavacharyya surpassed in knavery his prototype as conceived by Mukunda. It may be said in this connection that Madhavacharyya's male characters were more manly than those of Mukundaram. Thus from a comparison of the description of the boyhood of Kalketu we find in Madhavacharyya's delineation a more robust and masculine character than in Mukundaram. It is peculiar that Dwija Hariram's and Kavikankan Mukundaram's descriptions were very similar on the topic. The parallelism extends even into the very lines here and there of the pieces.

Kavikankan Mukundaram described all phases of Bengali life in the 16th century. In the king Bikramkesari, Dhanapati, Lahana, Khullana and others we find the description of the uppermost grades in society while in Kalketu, Phullara and others we have an exact picture of the poverty-stricken people of Bengal. Middleclass men were not excluded by the poet including various castes and creeds and some typical examples are the vivid portraitures of Bhāru Datta and Murāri Sil. In Bulan Mandal we find a redoubtable leader of the ryots of Bengal who formed the backbone of the country, and in the maid-servant Durvala, the familiar figure of a woman who pilfers her master's purse and causes dissensions in the family as a tale-bearer. The poet with his exact knowledge of the country has given us encyclopaedic information about the Bengal of his time. In this remarkable poem not only do we find a picture of society represented in all its grades, from the highest to the lowest, but also a good deal of information about the animal and vegetable worlds. We get a long list of forest-trees in his chapter on "cutting of trees," of flower-plants in Nilambara's "gathering of floral offerings for the worship of Siva," of various beasts of Bengal in "the lamentations of the beasts," and of birds in 'Khagantaka and Mrigantaka's entrance into the forest.' Besides a long account of culinary preparations together with a list of arms, musical instruments, ships and commercial products are also met with in various passages of the Chandikavya of Kavikankan.

It has been pointed out by some scholars that Kavikankan's review of forest-animals gives a picture of the political atmosphere of Bengal in the 16th century. Indeed the similarity is so striking, and the poet gives such a great human interest to the beasts, that one might suppose that the account is an administrative history of the country figuratively introduced under the guise of a religious legend.

The age of Kavikankan Mukundaram represents the period of transition in the progressive history of our literary language. This was the time when the attempts of the poets to Sanskritise Bengali had begun in right earnest. The Sanskritisation of Bengali in its fullest splendour is to be found in Bharatchandra. Before him efforts were made in that direction by almost all poets from Krittivas down to Alaol. These attempts were marked sometimes by a considerable measure of success but often by a crudeness which raises a smile on our lips as grotesque. We have such lines, for instance, in Ramprasad as—

"জননী জাগৃহি জাগৃহি, এবমুচিত মধুনা তব নহি নহি নহি।"

In Kavikankan we find the vernacular element predominating in numerous passages reminding us of the language of the Ballads. Take for instance the "Vāramāsi" of Phullara—

পাশেতে বসিয়া রামা কহে দুঃখবাণী।
ভাঙ্গা কুঁড়্যা ঘর তালপাতার ছাওনী ॥
ভেরেণ্ডার থাম ওই আছে মধ্য ঘরে।
প্রথম বৈশাখ মাসে নিত্য ভাঙ্গে ঝড়ে ॥
কবিকঙ্কণ চণ্ডী, পৃঃ ৬৮ (বঙ্গবাসী সংস্করণ)।

Another instance we take from the description of the interview of Kalketu with Murāri Sil—

"খুড়া খুড়া ডাকে কালকেতু।
কোথা হে বণিকরাজ   আছয়ে বিশেষ কাজ,
আমি সে আল্যাঙ তার হেতু।
বণিক লুকায়ে ঘরে   আসীয়া বান্যাণী তারে,
বলে ঘুরে নাহি পোতদার।
সকালে তোমার খুড়া   গেলা খাতকের পাড়া,
কালী সে মাংশের পাবে ধার ॥" ইত্যাদি
কবিকঙ্কণ চণ্ডী পৃঃ ২১৭-২১৯ (কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় সংস্করণ)।

We add another instance from the account of the boyhood of Kalketu :—

"নাক মুখ চক্ষু কাণ   কুন্দে যেন নিরিমাণ,
দুই বাহু লোহার শাবল।
শীল রূপ গুণে বাড়া   জেন বাড়ে হাথি কড়া,
জিনে শ্যাম চামর কুণ্ডল ॥
বিচিত্র ললাট তটী   গলাতে জালের কাঠী,
করে জোড়া লোহার শিকলী।
উরে শোভে বাঘনখে   অঙ্গে রাঙ্গা ধুলী মাখে,
তনু মাঝে শোভিছে ত্রিবলী ॥"
কবিকঙ্কণ-চণ্ডী, পৃঃ ১৩:-১৩৩ (কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় সংস্করণ)।

The language describing the animated debate of the merchants at the social gathering in the house of Dhanapati is unassuming in its rural simplicity and full of life and vigour, We have only referred to a few instances to show that Mukundaram, himself an accomplished scholar of Sanskrit, did not discard the rural dialect of his country. In his hands this countrymade tool became an instrument of great force and literary power. But that he was pre-eminently a poet of the transition will be observed from the sprinkling of Sanskritic words with which he adorns his accounts. Even in the plain "Vāramāsi" of Phullara abounding with Prakritic expressions, of which a specimen has been given above, we come across lines like,—

"জানু ভানু কৃশানু শীতের পরিত্রাণ।"

The description of Dasabhujā who appeared before Kalketu is full of Sanskritic words, without a predominance of the vernacular element. Khullana tending sheep in the meadows of Ujani laments her lot in Sanskritic style. The description of spring begins thus,—

"মন্দ মন্দ বহে হিম দক্ষিণপবন।
অশোক কিংশুকে রামা করে আলিঙ্গন॥
কেতকী ধাতকী ফুটে চম্পক কানন।
কুসুম পরাগে মত্ত হৈল অলিগণ॥"
কবিকঙ্কণ চণ্ডী, পৃঃ ১৪৪ (বঙ্গবাসী সংস্করণ)।

In fact, one would find the classical style and vernacular forms combined in the medley which Kavikankan has presented to us in his remarkable song. In his writings we do not certainly find the finished harmonious concord in the commingling of Sanskrit and Bengali so strikingly observed in Bharatchandra ; still they unmistakably show that a new age of refinement was approaching, when Sanskritic expressions were to be largely imported, throwing into shade the rustic style and humour. Mukundaram is surely one of the typical harbingers of the new school of Bengali poetry in the 16th century.

After Kavikankan Mukundaram's immortal work, the two poems on Mangal-Chandi that deserve notice belong to the

18th century. One of these poems was written by Bhabanisankar Das of Chittagong. He completed his work in 1779 A. D. The work will be equal in volume to Mukundaram's Chandikavya. The poem of Bhabanisankar is full of Sanskritic words as will be evidenced from his description of the goddess Chandi. The following lines may be cited by way of illustration :—

"পশ্য পশ্য পঙ্কজাঙ্ঘ্রি আনন্দে।
কনক মকর খাড়ু সহিতে বাজিছে ঘুঙ্ঘুরু,
নূপুর বাজ্যাছে পদারবিন্দে ॥"
(ভবানীশঙ্করের চণ্ডীকাব্য)।

The poet sometimes shows an intrinsic poetic merit and even rivals his great predecessor Mukundaram here and there. "Khullana's toilet" is an instance in this respect.

The work on Chandi by Jaynarayan, already referred to by us (No. XII in the list) is a poem of considerable merit. His Sanskritic style, of which a short specimen is quoted below, is a characteristic feature of his Poem.

"মহেশ করিতে জয় রতিপতি সাজিল।
দামামা ভ্রমর রব সঘনে বাজিল ॥
নব কিশলয়েতে পতাকা দশদিশেতে।
উড়িল কোকিল-সেনা সব চারি পাশেতে ॥
ত্রিগুণ পবন হয় যোগ গতিবেগেতে।
ফুল ধনু পিঠে ফুলশর করপরেতে ॥"
(জয়নারায়ণের চণ্ডীকাব্য)।

TAMONASHCHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ROYAL COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF INDIAN NATIONALISTS

I

The Conservative Government of Great Britain, supported by the leaders of the British Labour Party and the Liberals, with the approval of both the Houses of the British Parliament, has appointed a Royal Commission for India. "The Commission will be composed of Sir John Simon, prominent liberal lawyear, as Chairman; Lord Burnham, owner of *Daily Telegraph*; Hon. Stephen Walsh, Minister of War in the Macdonald Labour Government; Colonel G. R. Lane-Fox, Minister of Mines in the present Government; Lord Strathcona, Major the Hon. E. Cadogan and Major C. R. Attlee, all Conservatives.''

The function of the Commission will be to carry out one of the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919—"to inquire into the working of the system of the Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of Second Chamber of local legislatures is or is not desirable. The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty.'' Thus it must be kept in mind that the Commission will be acting within its scope, if it reports to *restrict* the degree of responsible Government now existing in British India.

In a recent public declaration Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Royal Commission, has given his views regarding the scope of the Commission in the following way :—

> "The British Government has a tremendous responsibility to the people of India. It is a responsibility which cannot be denied and evaded for it is rooted in history and in the facts of the world today. If therefore, the future of India is to be one of peaceful progress (as all men of goodwill in India and Britain intensely desire), this can come about only by the act of the British Parliament combined with the co-operation of India itself. Both these are provided for by the scheme of investigation and consultation of which the work of the Commission is the first stage. The Commission does not go to India with any idea of imposing Western ideas or constitutional forms from without, we go to listen, to learn and faithfully report our conclusions as to actual conditions and faithfully report our conclusions as to actual conditions and varying proposals from within... The task of the Commission calls for the highest qualities of sympathy and imagination as well as for endless patience, strict impartiality, industry and courage. I enter upon my part in this duty intensely desiring to be of what service I can to India and to Britain."

However, the publication of the news that the Commission will not include any Indian, has stirred the Indian nationalist leaders and press. Many of the Indian leaders, including the Liberal leader Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, have declared that the composition of the Commission without an Indian in it is an expression of deliberate and studied insult to the people of India, and thus the Commission should be universally boycotted. According to the interview granted to an Associated Press Correspondent at Mussoorie, on October 13, 1927, even Sir Abdur Rahim, a staunch supporter of the British Indian Government's present policy, has expressed it "as his definite opinion that in case there was no Indian element in the personnel of the coming Royal Commission, the duty of India was clear and it was that the Commission should be boycotted." Sir Abdur Rahim further said that "it was unthinkable to have a Royal Commission of Indian Reforms, without representation of non-official Indian opinion. If England sent a Commission without an Indian element it would be a downright insult to India."

It is very obvious that the policy of appointing a Royal Commission without any Indian member in it has been deliberately adopted, because of the existing political situation in India. No less a person than Sir Muhammed Shafi, who enjoys the confidence of British officials, attributes the exclusion of Indians from the Royal Commission, to inter-communal hatred existing in India. The *New York Times*, which often reflects the British point of view on the Indian question, in an editorial entitled "Self-Government in India," published in the issue of Nov. 10, 1927, makes the following remarks which are certainly the opinion of the British Government and intended for American consumption:

> "The hastening of the Royal Commission has not been brought about by the pressure of events in India. It may even be said that the appointment of the Commission has been made possible by the subsidence of Indian unrest...Such unrest as prevails in India today does not centre about the British Government but about the relations between Hindus and Moslems. This inter-racial and inter-religious strife may be interpreted as arising from the very confidence with which the allocation of a larger measure of self-government is awaited. The Moslems are a minority of 70,000,000 in a total population of 320,000,000. In cultural and economic standing they are far inferior to the Hindu population. The intelligentsia of India, from which must come the administrators of self-government is Hindu. Under the circumstances the Mohammedans fear that self-government for India means a Hindu ascendency more oppressive than British rule. The test which the Royal Commission must apply is not so much Hindu capacity for managing the finances and defence of India, as Hindu ability to rule in fairness to all minorities. *If there is to be a new Constitution, it is taken for granted that safeguards for them (Moslems and minorities) will form a vital feature of the scheme.*"

Thus it is safe to prophesy that the present stand of the British Government in appointing the Royal Commission is at least to perpetuate the curse of "Communal Representation," the cancer of Indian political life in some form, under the guise of "protecting the minorities" from "Hindu ascendency." The Hindus who have no extra-territorial patriotism and who form about three-fourths of the population of India are to be victimised to please the Moslem minority and to perpetuate communalism which is being denounced by all other so-called Indian minorities, such as Indian Christians, Sikhs, Parsees and even some of the members of the British Parliament who rightly believe that as long as there exists "Communal Representation" or separate electorate for Moslems of India, there cannot be any real progress for a democratic form of Government.

II

British authorities in India and England firmly believe that some of the Indian politicians will talk about boycotting the Royal Commission, which in actual practice will prove to be a simple bluff. In this connection it will be interesting to quote the following editorial comment from the *Spectator* (London) of November 19, 1927:

> "It must not be supposed, however, that all Hindus want to boycott the Commission. There are many highly educated Hindus who have seen from the first what a ruinous policy that would be. *As for the Moslems, they are much less volatile than the Hindu Swarajists and Liberals, and in the mass they are ready to do all that they can to work with the Commission. Then again, there are those Hindus who have never had any cause to be grateful to their own political leaders. We mean the millions of untouchables. The visit of the Commission will be a great occasion to them.*" (Italics are mine.)

In other words, the British authorities think that some of the Hindu Swarajists and Liberals and a few Moslem leaders may declare that they would boycott the Commission, but there will be enough of loyalist Hindu leaders and masses of Moslem leaders and also the spokesmen for the Untouchables of India, who will co-operate with the Commission.

In the past, the Indian Nationalists, especially the Congress leaders, tried to boycott the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils, but their efforts did not succeed and later on they had to modify their stand as Swarajists and they entered the Assembly and Councils. Earl Reading, as the

Viceroy of India, had made an offer for a "Round Table Conference" which the late C. R. Das wished to accept, but Mahatma Gandhi and others rejected it; but later on Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and others had to beg for a "Round Table Conference," which so far has not materialised. The 'walk-out' of the Swarajists from the Assembly and the Councils, imitating the British Labour Party in the Parliament, has not served any good purpose. The Indian advocates of the boycott of the Royal Commission must have the example of the Irish Republicans and the Egyptian Nationalists in mind. But the Irish Republicans, to avoid complete political annihilation has entered the Free State Parliament; and what Zaglul Pasha and his followers accomplished in the boycott of the Milner Commission, cannot be repeated in India, because there is no Zaglul in India and factionalism and communalism in Indian politics, as it exists to-day, stands in the way of presenting a united front of the Indian nationalists on any question. If the Indian nationalists, under the pretext of "consistency of programme" or "sentimental idealism" boycott the Royal Commission they will accomplish only one thing and that is they will lose the opportunity of making their views on various issues of Indian Constitutional Reform, known to the members of the British Parliament, the British and Indian public and the world at large.

In this connection it may be said that even if the Royal Commission is deliberately appointed *to retard* the progress of responsible government in India, it should be the duty of all far-sighted Indian nationalists to present their views in favour of Indian national aspirations, and to block the possibility of any adverse recommendation by the Commission. Lastly it should be carefully considered that after making a bluff of boycotting the Commission, if they fail to bring about a universal boycott, it will seriously affect the power and prestige of the Indian nationalists in the eyes of the Indian public and the British people and politicians.

III

It seems that at least the following questions will be considered by the Royal Commission: Will the system of diarchy be abolished and complete autonomy with full responsible government be extended in Indian Provinces? What shall be the nature of the Federal Government of India? What shall be the status of the Indian Princes, under the new constitution of the responsible Government of India—will their so-called autonomy be of such character that they will have to submerge their existence within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government of India and thus must deal through the Government of India in their future relations with Great Britain and other Foreign Powers? Will the Government of India have full control over its internal affairs, national defence and foreign relations, like all other self-governing dominions—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and the Irish Free State? Will, under the cover of some high-sounding pretexts, the curse of Communalism be perpetuated, through separate electorate for the Moslem Indians or through some such schemes? Indian nationalists will have to present complete and far-sighted answers to these and many other questions in such a way that the very answers will serve as the beacon-light for the national aspirations to be achieved through many-sided activities, without sacrificing the underlying principles of national freedom, democracy and unity.

Indian Control of India's Foreign Relations.

From the very beginning of its relations with Indian Princes, the East India Company wanted to control the Foreign Affairs of the Indian States so that they would not be able to make a common cause with Britain's enemies and drive the British out of India. During the British rule in

India, one thing that Great Britain has systematically carried out is to bring about isolation of India in World Politics. Every conceivable means has been adopted by the British Indian Government to keep worthy Indians within Indian borders and under British surveillance, so that there will be no effective international contact established by forward-looking Indians, thinking and acting to carry out the ideal of "India for Indians" in practice. Not only men like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore have been under the watchfulness of British eyes, but many Japanese, American and even British sympathisers of India have been victims of British Indian espionage. The British Indian Government takes special precaution against really independent-spirited Indians being chosen to represent India in the League of Nations or in any international gathering. In fact it is deliberately planned that a Britisher always leads the Indian Delegation in the League of Nations. From what happened in the last Imperial Conference, in which it was decided that India, not being a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will not have any voice in the formation of the Foreign Policy of the British Empire, it is evident that the last thing the British authorities will ever voluntarily concede to the people of India is the charge of India's International Relations. But the Indian Nationalists who want to see that India should occupy her rightful place among the free and independent nations of the world and wish that India's status within the British Commonwealth of Nations may not be inferior to that of the self-governing dominions and Ireland, should see to it that their views on *Indian Control of Indian Foreign Affairs*, be adequately presented before the Royal Commission, and thus before the Indian and British public and the world at large.

Indian Control of National Defence.

It is needless to emphasize the point that a self-governing Sovereign State always exercises full and absolute control over its own national defence. It is only just and natural that a self-governing India should enjoy this inalienable right.

It is very easy to maintain foreign domination over a people by disarming them and by depriving them of the opportunity of exercising the functions of leadership in matters of national defence. From this point of view, and to keep the people of India in subjection, the British Government has not only disarmed the Indian nation, but while using India's man-power to organize a mercenary force of Indians, *has done its best to thwart the rise of a band of Indian military leaders for an Indian National Defence Force.* Indian leaders have been pleading for many years so that the British policy on the question of Indian National Defence be so changed that the full responsibility for it be gradually transferred to the Indian people. During the dark days of the World War, when Great Britain was very anxious to use India's man-power to the fullest extent,—the late C. R. Das, in April, 1918, in a largely attended meeting held at Calcutta made the following significant remarks, expressing that the people of India should be trusted with the responsibility of Indian National Defence :

> "The Prime Minister has sounded the call to arms. It is not only a call to arms but it is a call to duty. We are prepared to discharge our duty. Do your duty in the same spirit—Come forward and forget your racial prejudice, forget your sense of prestige—stand side by side with us—Hold us by your hands and you will find between the two of us *we will raise such an army in Bengal which will beat back foreign aggression.*"
>
> ("India For Indians" by Chitta Ranjan Das, published by Ganesh and Co., Madras, p. 107.)

But this appeal and many similar ones, especially from Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, have not received any adequate response from the British authorities. It is true that after the conclusion of the World War, a very slight concession has been made towards training a few Indian officers annually; but this is merely a gesture without any real spirit of trust. This is very evident from the unfavourable attitude of the Government of India and the British Government regarding the moderate recommendations of the Skeen Committee Report on Indianisation of the Indian Army.

Unless the Indian Nationalists be on guard, it is quite possible that the Government of India, supported by the British military hierarchy, will do its best to utilise the Royal Commission against the proposal of speedy Indianisation of the Indian Army. British army officers who have been eating "India's salt," have already started a vigorous campaign against Indianisation of the army, and are advocating that instead of granting any further concessions towards the establishment of a responsible government in India, its progress must be retarded. The following extensive quotations from an article "The Reforms and the Indian Army" by Lt.-Colonel A. O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E., published in the *Nineteenth Century* of July, 1927, are samples of anti-Indian propaganda carried on by British Army officials :

> "The word 'Swaraj' which has been used by some well-meaning personages, does not actually connote Indian self-government, but Hindu-self-government, and those who made most play with the word in the land of its birth had no desire whatsoever for a democracy. They wished for the establishment of Hindu rule, firmly based, as of old, on the caste system, with Khatri kings, guided by Brahmin priestly advisers, ruling over the other functional groups, all of whom would be kept in properly in their places on non-democratic lines..." (pages 28-29).
>
> "Till now the British Government has held itself responsible for the protection of India which it rescued from chaos and internecine strife, as has been done by so small a force of 60,000 British soldiers as a backing to 160,000 Indian regulars...Experience has shown that Gurkhas, Pathans, Punjab Mohammedans and Sikhs, Jats and Rajputs of Northern and Central India, Marhattas of certain areas and a few other tribes, all possess the spirit that make for excellent soldiers, and that the characteristics of clan in the hour of victory, steadiness under fire and imperturability in the hour of defeat are possessed by the different types complementary to each other. A total of 160,000 is but a small one to find. The Gurkhas come from a friendly State which is outside India proper, and the rest are chosen from one-tenth of the innumerable tribes of India. The small Punjab produces nearly three-fifths of the regular Army when those obtained from Nepal have been omitted..."

" The population of India being nearly 320,000,000 and the army being recruited from one-tenth of the tribes which compose that population, it is clear that hundreds of millions of the people have nothing to do with the military force which protects them...In the main the Hindu caste system is at fault. As Hindus have broken up their society into such thousands of functional groups, millions are born, grow up and die with the idea that soldiering has nothing to do with their duty to the nation...At any rate the position is that, while the small Punjab with its population of 24,000,000 produces the majority of the Army, Bengal with 48,000,000, Bihar and Orissa with 38,000,000 and Central Provinces with 16,000,000 are practically not represented at all..."

"...But the Reforms connote the ultimate establishment of democracy and one of the first steps towards democratic self-government must necessarily be democratic self-defence. In the Skeen Committee's Report on Indianisation of Officers' Rank in the Indian Army, it is proposed that in the future entrance to the Military College to be established in India should be by competitive examination and that no preference should be given to any particiular class or community...Those Englishmen who have had anything to do with the old type of the Indian Army will naturally be aghast at the possibilities which emerge from Skeen Committee's proposals, for they would lead to a situation in which an unwarlike Bengali would be in command of Pathans and a similar peace-loving Madrasi be called upon to lead a company of Sikhs....In fact, to the Army of the present day the idea is too fantastic to be conceivable. Nevertheless the proposal is the logical outcome of the Reforms, both as first step towards self-defence by all as a parallel to the Indianisation of Civil Service of India."

" The future must be faced if logic is to have its way. If a share is to be taken by the non-martial races in the officering of the Army, it follows in necessary sequence that all classes and all provinces of India should take their share in the defence of their native land, and this will also be in accordance with the true principles of democratic self-defence. On a basis proportionate to the population, out of 320 soldiers in Indian Army 48 should be representatives of Bengal, 38 of Bihar and Orissa, and 16 of the Central Provinces although such provinces at present supply not a single man. On the other hand the martial Punjab, which now produces more than 150, should only contribute 24. It should be added that the Gurkhas from the friendly non-Indian State should find no place in the democratic Indian Army of the future.

" As long as the attitude of the British remained that, under Providence, to their hand had fallen the duty of administering the country and of ensuring the progress and prosperity of their charge, so long the military authorities must be considered to work well in constructing a cheap Army out of the most virile races in the country. But with the institution of the Reforms, which aim at the progressive realisation of responsible self-government, conditions must inevitably change....And if the establishment of responsible Government must mean automatically the dissolution of the present Indian Army and the substitution of a makeshift not equally prepared for war, we must not blind ourselves to the possibilities of threatened danger of invasion of the country. *If on the other hand the possible disaster could be averted by a reasonable alteration of the terminology of August 1917, it would be better to face any storms that may be aroused among the politicians rather than allow matters to march towards the inevitable catastrophe of their logical conclusion*" (pages 28-37). (Italics are mine.)

In substance these military authorities want that the Government of India Act be so modified that there will be no chance of Indianisation of the Indian Army and Indian control of Indian National Defence.

At the outset it must be recorded that the British Indian Government, during the last fifty years alone has spent in its military expenditure more than double the amount of what the Japanese Government has spent during the same period for its Army and Navy. But Japan's military strength is second to none and the present Japanese Navy is only second to those of Great Britain and the United States of America. Japan has hundreds of thousands of trained officers. If we take the population of Japan and India into consideration, then India should have at least five times as many well-trained and experienced army, naval and air officers as Japan. *Is it necessary to repeat that because of its policy of keeping the people of India under subjection and due to its military policy, the Government of India has done practically nothing to train Indians to take up the responsibility of National Defence?*

Secondly, I wish to draw the attention of the Indian Nationalists to the fact that only the other day Sir Fredrick Whyte, the former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, in a meeting of very influential Americans, held at New York, said that the re-organization of the Chinese Nationalist Army by the Russians made it possible for the Houmintang Party of China to control the Yangtse Valley. In the space of less than five years, the Russian advisers of the Chinese Nationalists have trained enough officers to build up a formidable army; but the British Government after its long efforts, to-day finds the Bengalees as non-martial and the Madrasees as peace-loving and the work of protecting India from foreign invasions must be left to the British, who are supposedly appointed by the Providence for that task!

It will not be out of place to point out that the Siamese Government has built up an excellent army, the Afghan Government has trained a formidable military force by the aid of Turkish, Russian and German advisers. The Persian Government has sent hundreds of brilliant Persian scholars to various European countries to acquire the necessary knowledge in military science, while the army of the Persian Government is not a negligible one. The Turkish army has given a very good account of itself during the last five years. If British military leaders are unable to re-organise the Indian National Army so that the Indians will be able to take charge of the question of National Defence, then it would be wise for Indian statesmen to suggest that some German, French, Japanese, American, Turkish, or Russian officers should be invited to undertake this work of vital importance. It seems that such a plan will be less costly and more effective for meeting Indian national needs.

It is imperative that the Indian Nationalists should present their case in favour of speedy Indianisation of the Regular Army in India, formation of the Indian National Militia, as a second-line defence force, as it is in existence in Switzerland and the introduction of military training in High Schools, Colleges and Universities as it exists in Japan and establishment of Officers' Training Camps, as inaugurated by the United States of America, before the Royal Commission. Indian Nationalists by their actions should prove that they are willing and capable to undertake the full responsibility of Indian National Defence. It seems to me that it is high time for the Indian Nationalists to take the leadership in the formation of Indian National Militia to prove that an Indian Army under Indian Command will be second to none. *Whatever may be the attitude of the British Government, the Royal Commission, and the British Parliament, the Indian Nationalists must make a beginning, the sooner the better, about imparting military training in the schools and colleges so that "the myth of non-martial Bengalis," etc., be exploded by practical demonstration.*

Indian Princes and the Federal Government of India.

According to the reported speech of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru delivered before the Social Club, London, on October 27, 1927, the Swarajist leader has charged some of the Indian Princes as hindering political progress of India. There is much truth in this view. A few months ago some of the Indian Princes sent a Mission to England, with Dr. Rushbrook Williams as one of its advisers, for the purpose of securing support from British politicians, so that the so-called rights of the Indian Princes be not encroached upon by any Federal Government in India. It is generally known that this Mission engaged Sir John Simon, the present Chairman of the Royal Commission, as the Legal Adviser of the Indian Princes. Furthermore " The Feudatory and Zamindari India," the magazine supposed to be subsidised to protect the rights of Indian Princes as early as August, 1927, in an editorial entitled " Future Federation of the Indian States" presented the following reactionary views, against any further realization of responsible Government in British India :

> " It (the Deccan Sabha) has taken for granted that the result of the Royal Commission will be the inauguration of a Federal form of Government for British India and all that would remain to be done would be to define the relations between Federated India and the States and ultimately to absorb them in that grand federation...Some Princes are being misled by the astute politicians who try to coax them into approving their

agitation for Swaraj and thus make it appear that the Ruling Princes are for freeing themselves of British control and are prepared to throw their lot with the Swarajists. Their hesitation to oppose constitutional advance in British India, as it is called, will mean their extinction, will be their undoing. Their representatives to the Government and their whispered conversation at Simla will have no effect. They must act as a body and express without demur that the British Power is treaty-bound to assure their integrity and they are dead opposed to any form of Government which the British may confer on India, yielding to the clamour of a handful of noisy politicians, which will interfere with their integrity and leave them to the mercy of the politicians." (pages 521-522).

No Indian nationalist, true to the ideals of Indian unity and freedom, ever cherishes the thought that within the border of India, which comprises an area of over 1,805,322 square miles containing a population of 320,000,000 people, 7,11,032 square miles with a population of 70,000,000 people, will remain outside the jurisdiction of the Federal Government of India, and will form several hundred separate entities, ruled by Princes and Feudal Barons, enjoying direct relations with Great Britain which in turn will be responsible for their Foreign Relations and territorial integrity. It would mean that India should be divided into several hundred Ulsters to please the autocratic Indian Princes. Yet this plan has been seriously advocated by some important Indian Chiefs who talk about " their Sovereign Rights " which are for all practical purposes "pure myths."

Although the history of British Expansion in India is nothing but a series of violation of treaties and conquest by the British, there are many British statesmen who in all solemnity will invoke the sacredness of treaty-obligations to perpetuate "Ulsters" in the Indian body-politic; and some of the Indian politicians, under the cover of patriotism, will support all schemes which will preserve the Indian Princes and their autocratic rule. *To bring about Italian unity, all the petty Italian rulers had to lose their identity, similarly all Indian Princes must have to come within the full jurisdiction of the Federal Government of India. Nationalist India will have to define its policy towards* *the Indian Princes ; and it is just as well that it should be done now and be presented to the Royal Commission, so that there will be no misunderstanding on the question.*

The Curse of Communal Representation.

Moslem Indian politicians, including M. Jinnah and others, are for perpetuation of communal representation in Indian political life. Only lately various Moslem delegations went to England to assure the British authorities that they would be willing to co-operate with the Government—the Royal Commission—provided they were accorded special considerations as Muslims, *i.e.*, Communal Representation. Dr. Annie Besant, after her recent return to England has declared that the present communal strife in India is due largely to communal representation in Indian political life. In this she is absolutely right. Many of the Moslem leaders have boldly threatened that there will be no end of the Hindu-Moslem discord unless their demands (which are anti-national and preposterous) be supported by the Hindu community. If any one has any doubt about the Moslem attitude he should carefully digest the following resolution passed in the U. P. Moslem League meeting held at Meerut, in which such Moslem leaders as Moulana Hazrat Mohani, Dr. Kitchlew, Hafiz Hidayat Hussein, Dr. Ziauddin, Mr. Yamin Khan, Maulavi M. Yakub and Maulana Mohamed Ali, participated. To these leaders who pose as Indian Nationalists, communal interests come before the national interest. Communal ascendency of the Moslems and imposing the will of the minority community over the rest of the country is their creed. The resolution reads :

> " It was the opinion of the Moslem League that in view of past experience, the present state of affairs in the country and the existing relations between Hindus and Mussalmans, *the communal representation of the latter through separate electorates was inevitable. Moslems emphatically maintained this right of their community and would not agree to any proposal involving a surrender of the right until and unless* (1) Sind was

made a distinct province, (2) such Reforms as were given to the other provinces of India were extended to the N. W. F. Province and Beluchistan, (3) in the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of Moslem voters in every electorate was made the same as the proportion of Moslems in the population, (4) adequate representation was provided for the Moslem minority in the provinces of Agra and Oudh, as well as other provinces in which Moslems were in minority, (5) in the Indian Legislature Moslem representation was not made less than a third of the total and (6) the Government has accepted the principle that no Bill, a part of a Bill. or Resolution should be passed in any legislature or other elective body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that legislature or other elective body objected to it, on the ground that it would adversely affect the interest of that community."

Want of space will not permit me to discuss fully the absurdity of these demands. However, I shall pass a few remarks on the subject. In 1905 the British Government, to cripple the political life of Bengal and India, planned and carried out the partition of Bengal, which gave Moslem ascendency in the province. *I wish to emphasise the point that the very first provision of the Moslem League resolution, quoted above, means that to uphold and further Moslem communalism, the great province of Bombay be divided into two so that the Moslem communal power will be predominant in Sind.* The programme, among other things, involves that wherever the Moslems are in majority such as the Punjab and Bengal they should have representation according to the population, but in provinces where the Moslems are in minority they must have "adequate representation" which means more than the proportion of Moslem population. It also provides that if the three-fourths of the Moslem population of the Punjab does not like any legislative programme in Madras or any other province where the Moslems are in minority, the Government will not enact any law which may be opposed by the Moslems. *These demands may well be regarded as a Programme of Blackmail,* and in them one finds the guiding principles of Sir Bampfylde Fuller's programme of "securing Moslem support, by according them special concession." It may be worthwhile to record here what Sir Bampfylde Fuller wanted to do to please his " favourite wife " by which he meant the Moslem community of Bengal.

> " In May 25, 1906, in a circular Sir Bampfylde Fuller laid down that a fixed portion of Government posts should be reserved for Mohammedans, and until that proportion had been reached, *no qualified Mohammedan candidate should be rejected in favour of a Hindu candidate merely because the latter had superior qualifications.*"

It seems clear that twenty years after the regime of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Moslem leaders of India, particularly Mr. Jinnah of Bombay, have originated a scheme which really means the application of Sir Bampfylde's programme on an all-India scale and in a far worse form. It is a pity that some of the Indian Nationalists (who are regarded as Indian nationalist leaders), supposing that they were bringing about some kind of Hindu-Moslem unity, had agreed to the demands of the Moslem League which in reality means perpetuation of Communalism and conferring special privileges to those who are less efficient and only because they are Moslems. In this twentieth century, if Indian political life is to be governed by an inefficient minority, because of their special brand of religion, then it would mean that Indian political life will be far worse than what was in Europe and even India during the Middle Ages.

Fortunately for India, the majority of the people of India, the Christian, Sikh, Parsee and other communities are opposed to the programme of communalism and separate electorate. They believe in the principle of " India First " and no special representation of any community, but on the contrary, India should be ruled by the wisest and the best chosen by the people at large.

Without the perpetuation of communal representation for an Indian community (Moslems), the Anglo-Indians and others cannot secure and safeguard their special privileges for which they have been clamouring. The Anglo-Indians and the British official world will support the plea for special privileges for the Moslems, not because they really love the Moslems of India, but because that will be the best means of sowing and nurturing the seed of disunion in India; and also because that will establish a precedent for their special demands to benefit the minority of the Britishers.

If for no other reason but to register a protest against any scheme involving the perpetuation of communalism in Indian political life, the Indian Nationalists should present a carefully prepared memorial against the cancer of separate electorate and special privileges for any communtiy.

IV

It is generally agreed in India, for very substantial reasons, that Royal Commissions are appointed to whitewash many "diabolical projects" of the Government. There are many examples to substantiate this view. Did not a Royal Commission decide that "opium-eating does not hurt the people of India?" Did not the Royal Commission recommend the Rowlatt Act? Did not another Commission decide that General Dyer was not guilty of any crime by ordering the Amritsar Massacre? The present Royal Commission may recommend that India should not have any control over her Foreign Affairs and National Defence; it may favour that Indian Princes should have direct relation with the British Government in England; it may favour communalism in Indian political life and it may even recommend that no further steps be taken towards the establishment of responsible government in India, on the contrary, a backward move should be made to re-establish the old system with all its evils. Even in that case, the struggle for Indian freedom will not cease; on the contrary, it is my firm conviction that the Indian Nationalist Movement with its mistakes and temporary set-backs will some day lead India to her freedom. This being the case, the Indian leaders should seriously consider the working out of a programme of the future

Government of India. In answer to this, many Indian Nationalists will say, that in the past no country worked out a constitution first, before it achieved the necessary political change. They may point out the fact that the United States declared its independence and then worked for its constitution; recently the Chinese overthrew the Manchu dynasty first and then began the work for adopting a constitution, the Persian Revolution, Turkish Revolution, Russian Revolution, German Revolution and the establishment of new states of Poland, Czecho-Slavia, Jugo-Slavia, Finland, etc., came first and the constitutions afterwards. *But my feeling is that if India is to work out a peaceful political change, which must be similar to the political evolution of Canada and Australia, then it is very desirable that an outline of the Constitution of the Government of India should be worked out in a scientific manner ; and this should be spread among the people of India, the British public and politicians and the world at large.*

This work of drawing up a Constitution should not be done by the Indian politicians who are for the last few years, talking much about formulating a *National Demand,* while following the most objectionable, reactionary and opportunist programme of communalism in disguise. *This work should be entrusted to a committee of seven foremost Indian scholars on Constitutional Law and Comparative Constitutions. This committee should be assisted by five most distinguished Western scholars who must possess theoretical knowledge and practical experience about the federal form of the Government of the United States of America and the American States, the centralised form of Government of the Republic of France, the Federal Government of the Republic of Switzerland and the Government of various Swiss cantons, and the present Government of the Republic of the German Empire and its various states, and the governments of the various self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, especially the Irish Free State.* If a committee of seven Indian scholars be assisted by an American, a French, a Swiss, a German and an Irish authority on Constitutional Law, then it would be easy to blend all the good points of Federalism, Centralization, Decentralization and States Rights in the proposed constitution, which will receive respectful attention of the world public and even the British Parliament and those Britishers who are using Americans to discredit Indian aspirations by the publication of such a book as " Mother India."

Undoubtedly if a committee of seven Indian scholars and five western advisers are to work for preparing a Constitution of India, it will cost some money; but it is to be expected that the result of their work will be an achievement and a solid contribution towards the acquisition of freedom of India. In this world, "something worth anything can never be secured for nothing, and India will have to pay for this work. In this connection it may be said that the work will not cost the people of India half as much as the present Royal Commission (over the composition of which the people of India has not the slightest control) will have to spend to determine whether the people of India should have any further concessions towards the establishment of responsible government.

The Indian National Congress, during the last few years, has raised large sums of money for various purposes, but the money has been spent on the unproductive " Special Sessions " and other purposes. *It seems that it is a responsibility of Indian Nationalists to appoint a Commission of Indian and Western scholars to work out a constitution for the future government of India before the year 1928 is over; and for this work they should spend a reasonable sum of money. Mere agitation against a Royal Commission will have no effect. Mere criticism against the present Government of India Act will be of no special value. Indian Nationalists will have to present to the Indian people, British public, British Parliament, and the world at large a completely worked out programme for the future Government of India and its various Provinces. If the*

All-India National Congress fails to undertake this work, as it has so far failed, will it not be possible for some other responsible organization to undertake this work and will it not be possible for a rich Indian to bear the financial responsibility for this purpose and serve his Mother Country in a most constructive way?[1]

TARAKNATH DAS

THE VISION

The shadow'd moon upon the stream
Is floating with her crispéd dream
Like silent joy in crystal night
—The roving wave of light.

The star hides in the flower's breast
Like night-dream in the heart of rest,
And breathes its purest scents of love
In its snow-breast uphove.

A lyric tune of the sea-wave
Plays softly on the moon-lit cave,
And like a strainéd joy the wood
Delights its solitude.

Along the skies, amidst the air
Sate in the cloud-bark of my care,
I rove in my deep search of love
Whose shadow is above.

Ye ghostlings! stretch your poison'd strains
And on their heavy-hearted pains
Oh! charm my way to ecstasy
—*A mortal eternity*!

S. H. JHABVALA

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[1] The Editor does not agree with the writer's views and opinions in many respects.—*Ed., C. R.*

Review

Paper Currency in India—By B. B. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., B.Sc. (Lond.), Published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 333, price Rs. 4.

This is an interesting publication on the history, present organisation and the future of the Paper Currency system in India. This is a reprint with some portions practically rewritten of the thesis approved for the Ph.D. of the Calcutta University. The treatment selected is to "isolate the paper currency so far as it bears such isolation from the rest of the monetary system and in spite of frequent temptations to discuss the general features of the monetary situation the author has wisely refrained from this unprofitable task." Even on such contentious topics as the amalgamation of the paper currency and the gold standard reserves, the meaning of elasticity and the methods of securing it the author is never dogmatic and one-sided in the statement of his thesis. The notable portion of the book is where the author makes a searching analysis of the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendations with reference to the proposal of the Reserve Bank which is to be the future currency authority.

The plan adopted in the book is to follow the historical growth of the paper currency system. The first two chapters deal with the bank note issues, their circulation and the conditions governing the note-issues of these earlier banks. The author makes a laudable attempt to throw fresh light on this topic and information collected from the German authors is made use of and arranged in a lucid manner. But unfortunately he has not taken care to verify the reliability of the information obtained from these sources. The facts obtained from Munz Mass and Gewichtbuch and Heubner's Die Banken ought to have been verified by the author. The author says "Another bank not mentioned by C. N. Cooke—the Bank of Western India (Die Bank Des estlichen Ostindien) founded in 1842 also seems to have a note issue. Perhaps this was the same bank as the Nord West Bank von Indien which Huebner mentions but gives no details of its note-issue. Huebner mentions two other banks, *viz.*, the Oriental Bank Corporation and the Agra and United Service Bank of Agra as having a note circulation. The amount of the circulation of the former was approximately Rs. 5,18,910 in 1851; of the latter approximately Rs. 10,00,000 in 1852." A reference to some of the printed records of the Government would have made the situation quite clear. They mention the Agra and United Service Bank and the North West Bank. The latter was started in 1844 and not 1842 as stated by Huebner. It arose out of the Meerut Bank which was started in 1842. The business of these banks included the issuing of notes. But the records do not mention their note-issues and a study of C. N. Cooke would give the reasons for this. (See pp. 141-9.) Mr. R. M. Martin does not also mention the fact that they issued notes during this period. The verbatim publication of the facts from the German writers without any verification is far from commendable. A close study of C. N. Cooke would have enabled the author to avoid these errors.

Chapter III discusses the reasons for making the paper currency a Government issue and the views of the principal makers of the Government Paper Currency system of 1861 and the early plans formulated by these pioneers are elaborated in detail. There is no mention of the P. C. plan outlined in the Calcutta Review in 1858 under the title "Indian Finance." All the important suggestions of Mr. Wilson were clearly foreshadowed by this anonymous writer. The main provisions of the P. C. Act of 1861 are related and a contemporary estimate of the Act from the Calcutta Review is quoted to indicate in what light this important measure was received by the public.

The agency of issue forms the subject-matter of chapter IV. The employment of the Presidency Banks as agents for management and the final disassociation of the paper currency from the Presidency Banks —the Wood-Laing controversy in this connection and the recent attempt to employ the banks once again to issue P. C. and the final transfer of it to the Reserve Bank, form the chief topics of consideration. The author advocates the view that the permanent part of the P. C. and the application of its routine policy need not be in the hands of the banks but these form the best agency to secure seasonal elasticity of the P. C. System. (See p. 74, 1st para.) This is indeed opposed to the accepted theory which considers the Bank issue as far superior to the Govt. issue. It is only in a backward country that this Govt. issue can be advocated to popularise the people with the notes and after this preliminary education is over the note-issue should be handed over to a Central Bank of Issue.

In Chapter V the mechanism of the issue forms the subject-matter. The details regarding office work in the P. C. Office, the printing of notes, the circles, the sub-circles, the currency chests, the Mint Chests, the question of legal tender, the conversion facilities, the war-time crisis and the steps taken to meet it, are elaborated in an interesting manner and afford a profitable reading to the students of monetary mechanism of our country.

Much of this information is not usually available in ordinary text-books and as Government manuals on P. C. are not within the easy reach of all the author has done well in giving this information.

About 110 pages are devoted to the discussion of the cover of the issue and the author is justified in this procedure when one remembers "that the history of the P. C. System is nothing but a story of the reserve behind it." The same old facts relating to the gradual development of the extra convertibility uses of the P. C. Reserve, the widening of the area in the matter of the location of the reserve and the heterogeneous miscellany in the matter of securities in the composition of the reserve are discussed in a refreshingly original manner. The author would have done well to avoid some unnecessary repetition in this chapter. He does not protest against the domiciling of the reserve in London. Although there is some justification for the holding of sterling securities in the P. C. the Government arguments for holding a portion of the reserve in gold in London do not hold water. An increase of the Gold Standard Reserve, if it is not sufficient to maintain exchange, and the pursuit of a scientific policy in the gauging of the requirements of the people, have been advocated by the Indian critics of the system. The efficacy or non-efficacy of these measures are not alluded to. He does not fail however to make a protest against the holding of gold in the P.C. Reserve. The author wisely recognises that the real "reserve-maker" of the P.C. System is after all the "valuation pendulum" and so long as it oscillates to and fro there would be no certainty as regards the reserve of the P. C. System. It would be more edifying if the author discusses in the revised edition any historical parallel of any other country maintaining the G. Exchange Standard and at the same time does not amalgamate the G. S. Reserve and the P. C. Reserve.

Chapter VIII deals with the different meanings of the word elasticity and the difference in the methods by which it has been achieved. The gradual introduction of elasticity by expanding the amount of fiduciary reserve, the issuing of notes against gold and the London sterling reserve and the facilitation of the expansion of the rupee is next dealt with. The recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission and the Babington-Smith Committee in this direction are dealt with. The actual working of the 1920 Act, the 1923 Amendment Act and the 1924 changes are referred to. Two useful notes are appended to this chapter. The first one compares and contrasts the Federal Reserve System operations with the Indian P. C. System solely with reference to the method of securing elasticity by means of bills of exchange. The second deals with the rates of interest which ought to serve as an indicator in the matter of issuing additional P. C. during periods of seasonal stringency.

In Chapter IX the statistical account of the growth of the P. C. is recorded. The Acts relating to the P. C. System and a short biography of the persons responsible for P. C. legislation are given at the end of this chapter.

Coming to the most important chapter where the future of the issue is discussed, the author repeats the two fundamental principles of reform that paper is only a part of the whole currency system and that stability of prices ought to be the guiding motive of the monetary policy. Hence the author opines that P. C. must expand or contract solely with reference to the principle of price stability. Any expansion of the P. C. by means of the printing press to cover up budgetary deficits is to be condemned. This can only be secured by placing the P. C. out of the reach of the hands of the Government and the handing over of the P. C. to the credit-controlling authority is approved by the author. But he has his own misgivings in this respect (*vide* p. 273). Evidently the author favours the Central State Bank conception. He also approves of the formation of a Currency Board on the model of the F.R. Board to manage the "independent Rupee Standard" so as to regulate currency with a view to attain stability of prices. He also adds that under a gold standard this Currency Board would not be required. The real thing required is a Central Bank co-ordinating the control of credit and currency in its hands. But even in the case of "managing the independent Rupee Standard" the ideal of a Currency Board or Commission does not appeal to the reviewer, for it would be a third body between the Government and the Central Bank. It would soon come into conflict with both authorities. If we remember right this suggestion was made by Mr. Preston and stoutly opposed by Sir Basil P. Blackett. The ingenious and complicated recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission with reference to the conditions of issue and the joint reserve to be held for the duality of issues such as notes and rupees are criticised on similar lines laid down by Mr. B. F. Madon. "The idea of the combined reserve is novel.........," says the author. This suggestion was outlined by Sir B. P. Blackett before the H.-Y. Commission in his oral evidence and some such scheme had to be formulated to secure the amalgamation of reserves. The limit fixed by the proportional reserve system and the heterogeneous nature of the reserve and the proposal of the fusion of the P. C. Reserve and the G. S. Reserve are approved by the author. The further doors thrown open for elasticity beyond the proportional system of note-issue namely the granting of permission for the holding of foreign bills of exchange maturing into gold and the provision for the temporary suspension of normal reserve requirements during exceptional times on the paying of a graduated tax on the issue are considered too bold and he blames the H.-Y. Commission for lack of conservativeness in this direction. This chapter closes with the minor suggestions such as the abolition of the circle system and the extension of the universalisation process but a bank issue would automatically solve these problems. The displaying of the King's portrait on the Reserve Bank notes as originally suggested by Sir D. Hamilton is also approved. There are three useful appendices relating to the 1861 Act, the 1923 Act and a copy of the Reserve Bank Bill of 1927.

We have no hesitation in recommending this book to all students who are interested in our monetary policy and all legislators who attempt to secure a sound currency system for our country. We hope that the apparent discrepancies referred to in Chapter II would be satisfactorily dealt with in the next edition. The book contains two useful bibliographies.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselves

THE LATE BARON SINHA.

In the unexpected death, so tragic in its suddenness, of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Satyendraprasanna Sinha, K.C.S.I., Baron of Raipur, on the 5th of March, at Berhampur, from heart-failure, India, and especially Bengal, has lost one of her talented sons and foremost public men, the record of whose eminent services to the country will, for years—if not generations—to come, remain unsurpassed. We are as deeply touched by this melancholy event as we are legitimately proud of his exceptionally brilliant career and his great achievements.

Born in 1864, as the son of a Sudder Ameen under the East India Company, the late Baron Sinha received his early education at the Birbhum Zilla School and won distinction as a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta (1877-79), and proceeding next to England in 1881 was entered at Lincoln's Inn where he won prizes and scholarships for his proficiency in Roman Law and was subsequently (1886) called to the Bar.

He joined the Calcutta High Court in 1887 and served for some time as Professor of Law at the City College where among his distinguished pupils the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was one. He soon rose to eminence in the legal profession and became remarkable for his legal acumen, force of character, strong common-sense, independence of spirit, unique courtesy, well-balanced mind and suave disposition—and, above all, for his sweet reasonableness.

With the introduction of the Reformed Universities Act (Act VIII of 1904 which came into force on December 7, 1904) Lord Sinha was nominated a Fellow of this University and with zeal and devotion to duty towards his mother country took an active interest in all educational and administrative problems as a Senator up to 1909 in spite of his onerous responsibilities as the Standing Counsel of the Calcutta High Court from 1903 to 1907 and the Advocate General of Bengal from 1907 to 1909 which exalted office he again filled in the years 1915 to 1917.

The prominent part he played on the popular side in the then heated debates over the vexed question of restricted affiliation of colleges contemplated by the New Regulations under the Reformed Universities Act, strengthened the hands of our national leaders against the reactionary forces which since that day has unfortunately, more or less, been interfering with the progress of educational freedom and expansion in accordance with the growing needs of an advanced community. In this connection we may refer also to his Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress of 1915 with which his connection as a clear-headed politician of the Liberal school commenced as early as 1896.

He was one of the first batch of nominees appointed by the Founder himself on the Governing Body of the Sir Taraknath Palit Trusts which laid the foundation of higher scientific studies and research worth the name in this country.

Recognition of his wonderful abilities and his valuable services followed soon and he was Knighted in 1914, nominated a Representative of India in the Imperial War Conference of 1917 and then a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when (in 1918) he was also made a K. C. and afterwards a Privy Councillor, the Freedom of the City of London having, in the meantime, been conferred on him in 1917 till he rose to be the Under Secretary of State for India from 1919 to 1920.

The unique distinction was his to be the first (and as yet only) Indian Governor of a Province when in December, 1920, he was elevated to the *gaddi* of the Governor of the newly created Province of Behar and Orissa. From 1909 to 1910 he was also the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and, finally, was serving since 1926 as a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Lord Sinha has left behind him his widow, four sons and three daughters and a very large circle of friends and admirers, some of whom are themselves men of light and leading occupying the highest position in the land, to mourn his sad loss at a time when the country is at the threshold of momentous political changes, with whom we heartily join in this national grief while offering to the bereaved family our most sincere condolence and cordial sympathy.

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THE LATE DR. N. K. DUTT.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death, on the 2nd March last, of Dr. N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D. (London), formerly Professor, and latterly Vice-Principal, of the Chittagong College. Dr. Dutt retired from service only in 1926, and was subsequently appointed Sreegopal Basu Mallik Fellow in this University. Dr. Dutt was connected with us as a regular contributor and we offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

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MR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEE.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., the Honorary Secretary of the *Calcutta Review*, left for England on the 22nd February last. Mr. Banerjee was in charge of the *Review* since 1921 when the journal was acquired by the Calcutta University and it was mainly through his zeal and energy that the *Review* came to be converted into a monthly journal. The Board of Editors met on the 21st February last and recorded "its sense of high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Banerjee who gave so much of his time and attention to his work since the *Review* was acquired by the University." At the request of the Editor-in-chief and other members of the Board present at the meeting, Mr. Banerjee kindly withdrew his letter of resignation and agreed to go on leave. Mr. Banerjee is expected back in our midst after about a year and we hope his sojourn in Europe will considerably enhance his usefulness.

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A NEW PH. D.

Our congratulations to Professor Nripendrakumar Datta, M.A., of the Hughli College on his being admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Dr. Datta submitted a thesis on "The Aryanisation of India" and the Board of Examiners consisted of such eminent scholars as Prof. Sylvain Lévi, Dr. J. W. Thomas and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar.

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL.

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for 1925 has been awarded to Dr. Praphullakumar Bose of the University College of Science for the following theses:

(*a*) Studies in Heterocyclic Ring Formation, Parts I-III.
(*b*) Mercaptans of the Purine Group.

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THE ONAUTHNAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for 1928 has been awarded to Mr. M. N. Ray, M.A., B.L., the subject of his thesis being "Law of Fixtures in British India."